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Editor's Corner

This unusually eclectic issue combines Indian-white ideas about property in land, furtive activities during the Civil War (on both sides, single and double agents), baseball lore, and the World War II home front. We expect it will delight our audience over the summer months, when the fortunate have time for a little extra reading. Publication of another annual bibliography (thanks again to library colleagues at the University of Maryland, College Park) should help every student of Maryland history locate what he or she would most like to read after finishing these pages.

The magazine staff has lost two members of late, we sadly report. Susan D. Weinandy, just coming into her own as managing editor, and Virginia R. Duvall, business secretary, both have left the society to complete academic work. We thank those who have answered our call, noticed in the last issue, for volunteer copy editors, and repeat the plea for such invaluable help—as well as for anyone interested in matters of circulation and advertising.

Cover design: Unidentified woodcut, probably done originally for *Harper's* or *Leslie's,* from G. Allen Foster, *Eyes and Ears of the Civil War* (New York, 1963).

Conflicting Views on Landholding: Lord Baltimore and the Experiences of Colonial Maryland with Native Americans

W. STITT ROBINSON

"Earth and nature are inseparable from the Indian," wrote the geographer Imre Sutton in his bibliographical *Indian Land Tenure* (1975); more than furnishing subsistence, land carried emotional meaning for the native American, "psychological significance . . . far more intense than our nostalgic longing for the family farm and a rural way of life."[1] "Different tribes developed different solutions for the land problem," Ralph M. Linton, an anthropologist, argued many years earlier, "and by the time that Europeans arrived these had achieved a bewildering variety. Any generalization that will fit North American landholding as a whole will also fit landholding anywhere in the world. The only satisfactory description is, therefore, one by tribes or areas."[2] Even tribal descriptions may have failed European observers, however, for Indians often functioned in villages or bands.[3]

It seems clear that native Americans identified themselves with specific boundaries according to their location and habits of life. Nomads on the plains and transient hunters and gatherers took one view, sedentary groups engaged in agriculture another. Chesapeake Indians under Powhatan at the time of the settlement of Jamestown, wrote Captain John Smith, all knew "their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in."[4] Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern district, made a similar report to the Board of Trade in 1764: "Each nation is perfectly well acquainted with their exact original bounds; the same is again divided into due proportions for each tribe, and afterwards subdivided into shares to each family, with all of which they are most particularly acquainted."[5] The late D'Arcy McNickle, twentieth-century Indian scholar, concluded that tribes knew their territory, that "surface areas were recognized, boundaries were respected, use rights were sustained. But nothing in Indian practice required that land be divided up and parceled out under any system of titles." Unless "they were bent on mischief," McNickle continued, "within the domain of any given tribe, subordinate-use rights were recognized in separate bands, in clans, and even in family groups."[6]

European exploration and colonization of America injected new dimensions into the claim for land. First of all, the competition of one European power with another concentrated whites' attention on the establishment of a claim superior to that of their rivals—the reliance of Spain and Portugal on Alexander VI's papal

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Professor Robinson, who teaches at the University of Kansas, has published *Maryland Indian Treaties*, vol. 6 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (University Publications of America, 1987).

line of demarcation in 1493, for example, or the royal claims and grants of other nations. Most often they attempted to establish prior claim by right of first discovery, but the final outcome usually depended on which competing European power managed to occupy disputed territory.[7]

Concern for moral and legal justifications for dispossessing the Indians added a second dimension to the conflict over landholding, although Europeans more vigorously pursued claims against other Europeans. Some spokesmen ignored the presence of native Americans in applying the principle of *vacuum domicilium* (by which unoccupied land lay open to settlement). Others emphasized the absence of Christianity and stressed the "heathen" state of the native inhabitants. Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 received authority to discover and occupy "such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People."[8] The Virginia Company of London charter in 1606 referred to territory "not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People."[9] Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 emphasized the idealistic goals of the proprietor in "being animated with a laudable, and pious Zeal for extending the Christian Religion" in regions "hitherto uncultivated" and occupied in part by "Savages, having no knowledge of the Divine Being."[10]

Most English colonizers (except for Roger Williams and a few others) assumed sovereignty over land in the New World, sweeping aside protests of the Indians' prior claim. The Spanish already had debated the status of Indians; Bartolomé de las Casas championed their rights in his famous meetings with Juan Gines de Sepúlveda at Valladolid in 1550, a debate in which both participants cited Aristotle.[11] Francisco de Vitoria, Spanish legal philosopher, recognized the validity of the Indian claim to land but sanctioned force in converting them to Christianity, for, as he stated, "the cause of God ought not to be in worse condition than the cause of men."[12] In the eighteenth century the Swiss legal scholar, Emmerich de Vattel, added a rationale from natural law for denying extensive territorial claims to Indians: "nations cannot exclusively appropriate to themselves more land than they have occasion for, or more than they are able to settle and cultivate. Their unsettled habitation in those immense regions cannot be accounted a true and legal possession."[13]

After more than two centuries of Indian-white relations, the United States Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall in 1823 rendered a decision on the question of sovereignty and Indian land occupation in the case of *Johnson and Graham's Lessee* v. *William McIntosh*. The plaintiffs claimed title to Illinois land as a result of direct purchase from Indians, while the defendant based his claim on a grant from the United States. "An absolute title to lands cannot exist, at the same time, in different persons, or in different governments," the court declared.

> An absolute, must be an exclusive title, or at least a title which excludes all others not compatible with it. All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right. This is incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians.[14]

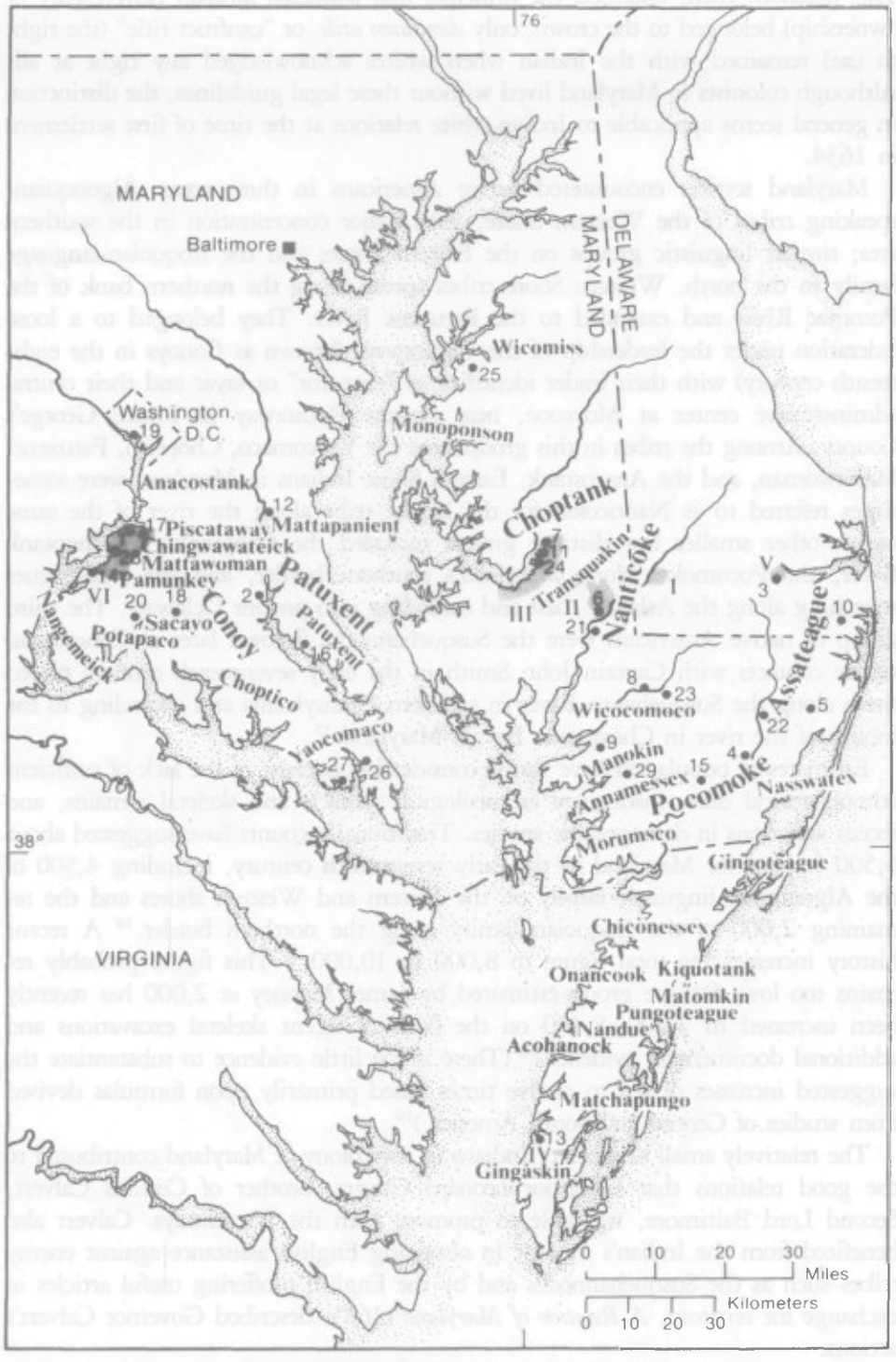

FIGURE 1. "Tribes and Villages, 1620–1837." Christian F. Feest, "Nanticokes and Neighboring Tribes," in Bruce G. Trigger, vol. ed., *Northeast*, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978). (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

This decision, then, endorsed the principle that *dominium directum* (sovereignty or ownership) belonged to the crown; only *dominium utile,* or "usufruct title" (the right to use) remained with the Indian when whites acknowledged any right at all. Although colonists in Maryland lived without these legal guidelines, the distinction in general seems applicable to Indian-white relations at the time of first settlement in 1634.

Maryland settlers encountered native Americans in three areas: Algonquian-speaking tribes of the Western Shore, with major concentration in the southern area; similar linguistic groups on the Eastern Shore; and the Iroquoian-language family to the north. Western Shore tribes spread along the northern bank of the Potomac River and extended to the Patuxent River. They belonged to a loose federation under the leadership of the Piscataways (known as Conoys in the eighteenth century) with their leader identified as "emperor" or tayac and their central adminstrative center at Moyaone, near present Piscataway in Prince George's County. Among the tribes in this group were the Yaocomaco, Choptico, Patuxent, Mattawoman, and the Anacostank. Eastern Shore Indians in Maryland were sometimes referred to as Nanticokes for the largest tribe along the river of the same name; other smaller but distinct groups included the Choptanks on Choptank River, the Pocomokes along Maryland's southern border, and the Assateagues stretching along the Atlantic coast and extending into present Delaware. The third group of native Americans were the Susquehannocks (known later as Conestogas) whose contacts with Captain John Smith in the early seventeenth century placed them along the Susquehanna River in southern Pennsylvania and extending to the mouth of the river in Chesapeake Bay in Maryland.[15]

Estimates of population have varied considerably because of the lack of sufficient ethnohistorical data, inadequate archaeological artifacts and skeletal remains, and recent variations in demographic studies. Traditional accounts have suggested about 6,500 Indians for Maryland in the early seventeenth century, including 4,500 of the Algonquian linguistic family on the Eastern and Western shores and the remaining 2,000 of the Iroquoian family along the northern border.[16] A recent history increases the total figure to 8,000 to 10,000.[17] This figure probably remains too low, for one group estimated by James Mooney at 2,000 has recently been increased to 7,200–8,400 on the basis of recent skeletal excavations and additional documentary evidence.[18] (There is too little evidence to substantiate the suggested increases of ten to twelve times based primarily upon formulas devised from studies of Central and South America.)[19]

The relatively small number of Indians in the colony of Maryland contributed to the good relations that Governor Leonard Calvert, brother of Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, was able to promote with the Piscataways. Calvert also benefited from the Indian's interest in obtaining English assistance against enemy tribes such as the Susquehannocks and by the English proffering useful articles in exchange for territory. *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) described Governor Calvert's actions:

> To make his entry peaceable and safe, hee thought fit to present the Werowance and the *Wisoes* of the Towne with some English cloth, (such as is used in trade with the Indians) Axes, Howes, and Knives, which they accepted very kindly, and freely gave

> consent that hee and his company should dwell in one part of their Towne, and reserved the other for themselves; and those Indians that dwelt in that part of the Towne, which was allotted for the English, freely left them their houses, and some corne that they had begun to plant: It was also agreed between them, that at the end of harvest they should leave the whole towne; which they did accordingly: And they made mutuall promises to each other, to live friendly and peaceably together. . . . [T]he Governour tooke possession of the place, and named the Towne Saint Maries.[20]

The technicalities of landholding and the legal aspects of territorial transfers did not appear to burden early negotiations. Before the arrival of Europeans, Indians generally viewed the land as being held in common and not transferable by sale or by an absolute title that would permanently exclude others. In a recent study entitled *One Hundred Million Acres,* Indian writers Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux state that "Indian title was originally one of aboriginal use and occupancy."[21] Other scholarly publications focusing on northeastern Indians have concluded that "the tribe had exclusive ownership (i.e., use, control, and claim both asserted and recognized)[4] of lands.[22] One notable exception was the Delaware tribe (or Lenápe) in Pennsylvania, which acknowledged complete autonomous control of family hunting territory by a family group.[23] Maryland Indians appear to have followed the general principle of tribal ownership with tribal leaders negotiating the right of occupation.

Whatever Indians meant by the right of occupation, Lord Baltimore as proprietor claimed sovereignty over the colony by the charter of 1632. The first Lord Baltimore had been successful in getting the same authorization that the Bishop of Durham had to secure fourteenth-century English frontiers. This gave the proprietor near-absolute powers over his colony, including control over legislative and court decisions, issuance of writs in the name of the proprietor, and granting of lands by his own authority and under terms profitable to the proprietary family.[24]

The proprietor's concern for recognition of his sovereign title to land became evident in problems that arose with the Jesuits and the Indians. First, there was an assertion by Jesuit leaders, particularly by the Reverend Philip Fisher, whose secular name was Thomas Copley, of special privileges under the canon law of Rome that would exempt them from many traditional obligations such as taxes and regulatory licenses required of other Marylanders. Claims were also made for several thousand acres of land that were specifically authorized for immigrants under the proprietor's Conditions of Plantation in order to provide for the Jesuits both spiritual and temporal independence. Second, Copley obtained additional grants of land directly from the Indians without authorization from the proprietor. One tract included the gift from the chief of the Patuxent Indians of the plantation of Mattapany in 1639.[25] Copley challenged the absolute title asserted by Lord Baltimore and evoked vigorous response.

After forcing the Jesuits to release title to the area obtained directly from the Indians,[26] the proprietor took the additional step of prohibiting the purchase of lands from the natives. A restriction enacted by the governor with the assent of freemen in 1649 noted that various persons had either "purchased or accepted" land from Indians but without title derived from the proprietor under the great seal of

the province, an action described as contemptuous of the proprietor's "dignity & rights" and productive of "dangerous consequence if not timely prevented." Consequently, all such purchases or acquisitions that had been made in the past or that would be made in the future were null and void. Even the Indian to have valid title must secure it from the proprietor.[27]

In subsequent years Maryland officials often did provide land for various Indian groups and attempted to prevent encroachment within their boundaries as long as their population warranted the reserved areas. For example, the queen of Portobacco in 1663 complained that colonists persisted in settling so near to Indian villages in present Charles County that their cattle and hogs destroyed Indian crops. The encroachment had occurred even though the native Americans had moved to the "utmost bownds of their land" and provided for "the English to Seate on theire ancient plantacons by the River side."[28] The governor responded by ordering no white settlements within three miles of Indian villages, and the council later ordered the construction of a pound or fence to restrain any of the cattle, hogs, or horses that damaged the Indian fields.[29] Two years later Nancotamon of the Mattawomans, also of Charles County, requested a decision from the governor and council about the tribe's location. They were willing, the Indian leader stated, to remove farther "into the woods"; Maryland officials preferred them in their old habitation both for the safety of the colony and for continuing them "more under our Comand." No English were to locate within three miles of the Indians without consent of the governor and council and under penalty of imprisonment for twelve months.[30]

Indian lands again became a major concern when in 1666 the assembly signed "Articles of peace & amity" with the Piscataways, Mattawomans, Portobaccos, Susquehannocks, and several other tribes on the Western Shore. This treaty restrained the tribes to their several locations where the governor was to establish bounds that "to him in justice shall seeme most for the publick good." The Indians could not move to another area unless their Matchcomics (or councils) agreed to it.[31] Following up this treaty, the governor and council in 1668 set aside an area between the heads of Mattawoman Creek and Piscataway Creek as an Indian reserve where those who were willing could move their families. Groups unwilling to relocate retained the land they held at the time of the 1666 treaty. Surveyors laid out the "meets and bounds" of the Indian lands and returned the certificates to the governor.[32]

Colonial officials also directed considerable attention to Indians on the Eastern Shore. In 1669, for example, the Ababco, Hatchswamp, and Tequassino (villages of the Choptank tribe) complained of encroachment by white settlers on lands assigned to them on the south side of Choptank River. Noting that they had not sold any of their lands to Englishmen, they sought reaffirmation of their bounds.[33] In response, the proprietor and assembly set aside on the south side of Choptank River, in designated bounds, Indian lands available from the proprietor for the yearly rent of six beaver skins.[34]

Demographic changes influenced Maryland policy and Indian-white issues. As the European population continued to increase, the number of native Americans declined substantially. Near the end of the seventeenth century, estimates of the Indian population in Maryland, while not complete, revealed a significant decline

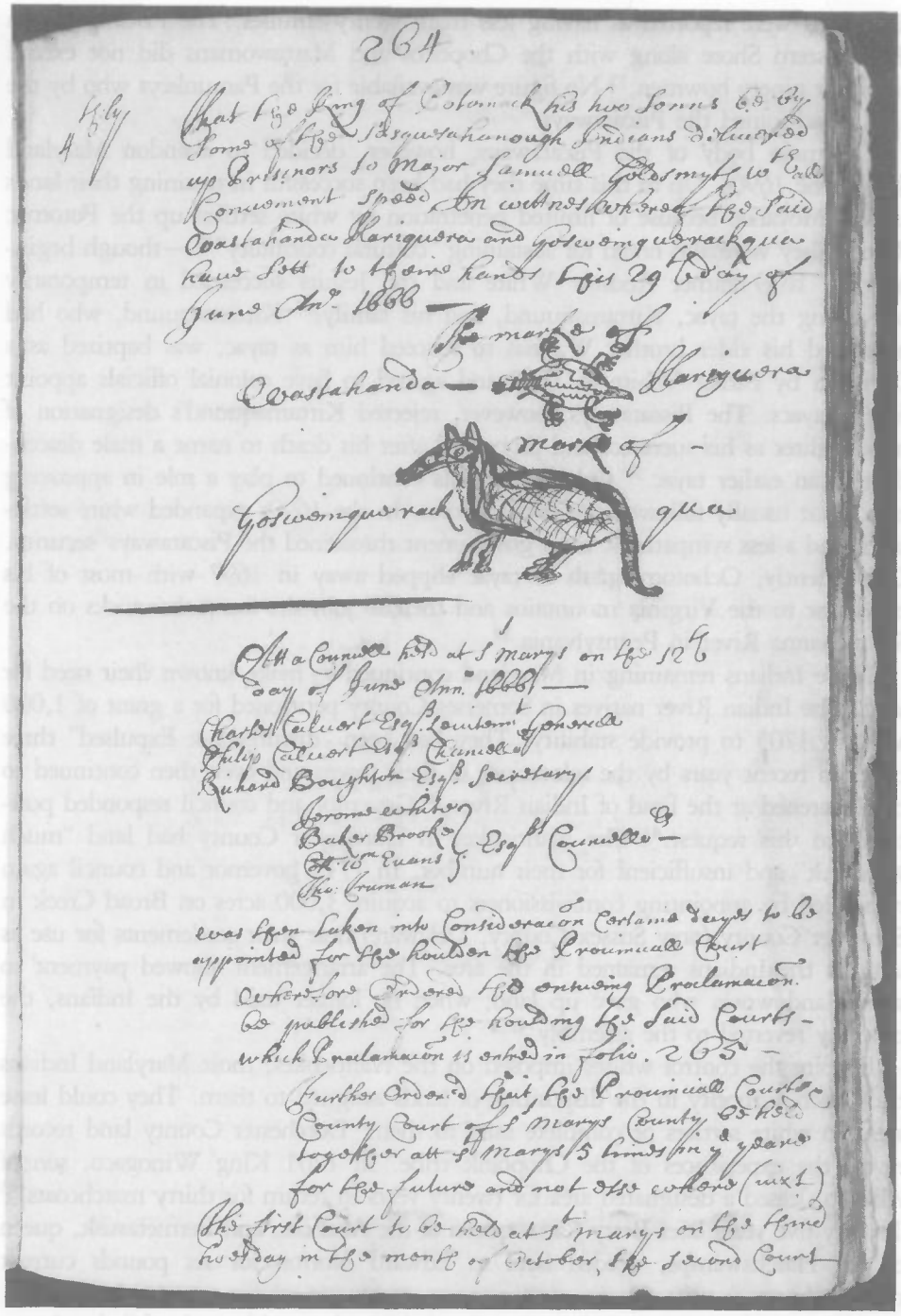

FIGURE 2. Pictographic signatures on articles of peace and amity with the Susquehannocks, 29 June 1666. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1661–1675 H. H., pp. 263–64. (Maryland State Archives)

because of smallpox epidemics, migration, excessive use of alcohol, and minor skirmishes either with the colonists or other native Americans. In 1696 and 1697 the Nanticokes still had ten towns. Yet many of these Eastern Shore Indians moved back and forth to Virginia and Pennsylvania, preventing an exact count. Some of

the towns were reported as having less than twenty families. The Piscataways on the Western Shore along with the Chopticos and Mattawomans did not exceed eighty or ninety bowmen.[35] No figure was available for the Pamunkeys who by the 1690s had joined the Piscataways.

The main body of the Piscataways, however, decided to abandon Maryland during the 1690s. Up to this time they had been successful in retaining their lands around Moyanoe because of limited penetration by white settlers up the Potomac River. They were also noted for sustaining "cultural continuity"[36]—though beginning in 1639 Father Andrew White and the Jesuits succeeded in temporarily converting the tayac, Kittamaquund, and his family.[37] Kittamaquund, who had murdered his elder brother Wannas to succeed him as tayac, was baptized as a Christian by Father White in 1640 and agreed to have colonial officials appoint future tayacs. The Piscataways, however, rejected Kittamaquund's designation of his daughter as his successor and proceeded after his death to name a male descendant of an earlier tayac.[38] Colonial officials continued to play a role in approving tayacs but usually followed the tribe's choice. In the 1690s expanded white settlement and a less sympathetic royal government threatened the Piscataways' security. Consequently, Ochotomaquath as tayac slipped away in 1697 with most of his tribe first to the Virginia mountains and then to join the Susquehannocks on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania.[39]

Those Indians remaining in Maryland continued to make known their need for land. The Indian River natives in Somerset County petitioned for a grant of 1,000 acres in 1705 to provide stability. They had been "disturbed & Expulsed" three times in recent years by the relocations of their towns and even then continued to be threatened at the head of Indian River.[40] Governor and council responded positively to this request.[41] The Nanticokes in Dorchester County had land "much worn out" and insufficient for their number. In 1711 governor and council again responded by appointing commissioners to acquire 3,000 acres on Broad Creek in Somerset County (now Sussex County, Delaware) near their settlements for use as long as the Indians remained in the area. The arrangement allowed payment to white landowners who gave up land; when no longer used by the Indians, the property reverted to the assembly.[42]

Despite the control whites imposed on the Nanticokes, most Maryland Indians had much authority in the disposition of lands assigned to them. They could lease areas to white settlers or complete sales to them. Dorchester County land records reveal the experiences of the Choptank tribe. In 1701 King Winogaco, son of Ababco, leased a designated area for twenty years in return for thirty matchcoats.[43] Twenty-five years later Betty Caco, queen of the Ababcos, and Permetasusk, queen of the Hatchswamps, deeded land to Edward Norton for six pounds current money.[44]

Difficulties arose when Indians leased or sold lands to whites who failed to honor their agreements. The Choptank Indians submitted numerous complaints to the governor and council in 1722. One Isaac Nichols had purchased land for twenty pounds current money and twenty gallons of rum, but he had "wrong'd them of part of the Money." A Mr. Howell would "have his Land without paying for it." Two other individuals were identified as having bought land six years ago but

having failed to make payment. Six persons refused to pay rent to the Choptanks even though they "livd or had Quarters on their Land." In response to these complaints, governor and council ruled that all colonists who had bought land north of the Choptank River would be compelled to pay, but that land south of the river should not be sold. In consideration for having these grievances redressed, the Choptanks were to pay the proprietor six beaver skins annually.[45]

At the same council meeting, the Assateagues and Pocomokes on the Eastern Shore filed similar complaints. One John Parker and seven other individuals, the Indians charged, "live on their Land without their Consent and say they will do so whether they will or no." Again the governor and council promised to satisfy the Indians but required annual acknowledgement of one bow and Indian arrows.[46]

Colonial officials followed up these problems with a measure in 1723 designed to protect the Indians and yet permit them to continue sales of land under certain conditions. The Nanticokes were to have "peaceable and uninterrupted Possession" of land lying between the northwest fork of Nanticoke River and Chicacoan (now Chicone) Creek—bounds comparable to an earlier provision of 1698. No part of this land was to be sold or leased by the Nanticokes. Along Choptank River the Choptanks were guaranteed a tract of land whose "Metes and Bounds" commissioners had surveyed earlier. Unlike the Nanticokes, the Choptanks could sell or lease other lands—though only those beyond a stipulated line. All leases the Indians earlier had entered into fell under a seven-year restriction. Failure of individuals to pay annual rent invalidated the lease and made them liable to prosecution in county court. Any purchase of Choptank lands open for sale had to be made when the Indians were sober and "of sound and perfect Memory," and all deeds of sale were to be executed before either a justice of the county court or a member of the colonial council.[47] The sale by Betty Caco and Permetasusk in 1726, previously identified for Dorchester County, met these stipulations.

The Maryland proprietors proposed one other approach to land tenure to provide for the Indians. As early as 1651 several small groups of Indians on the Western Shore, including the Mattaponys, Patuxents, and Chopticos, sought the protection of the colony and requested a tract of land of 8,000 to 10,000 acres at the head of Wicomico River. The proprietor authorized creation of Calverton Manor for these Indians, stating that it would not only contribute to the security of the English and the Indians but would also bring the natives to "Civility" and Christianity.[48] Due to the disruptions of the English Civil War, Calverton Manor was never established.

In the eighteenth century the proprietor again suggested manors for protection of the Indians. In 1735, noting persistent white encroachment on Indian lands, he also complained that poachers had claimed exemption from the payment of quit rents to the proprietor by holding title from the Indians. To counter further encroachment and clarify land titles, he ordered that the Indian land in question be made a proprietary manor.[49] It is not certain that the proprietor's instructions of 1735 were implemented, although there were fewer reported cases of encroachment upon Indian lands during the years immediately following.

Despite migration and the continuing decline in Indian population, encroachment remained a potential problem. The Nanticokes obtained official sanction at

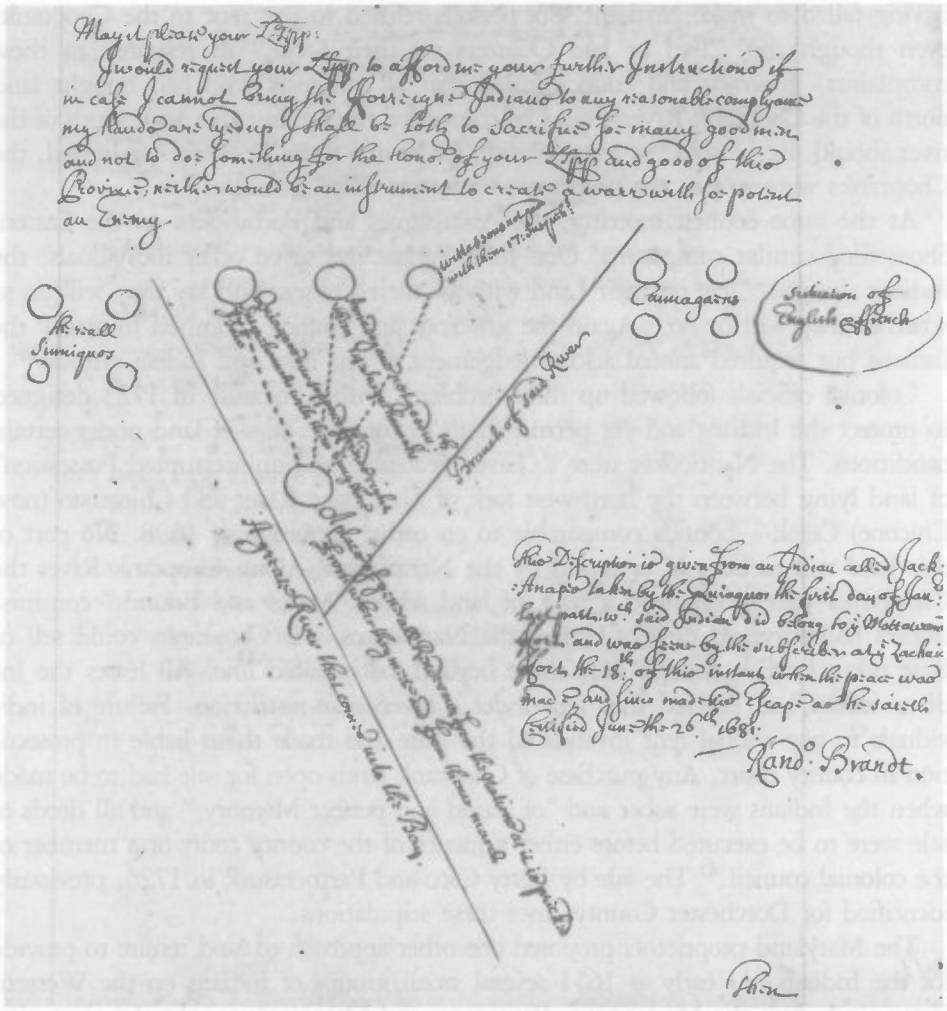

FIGURE 3. Description taken in early January 1681 "from an Indian called Jack: Anapio" who "did belong to ye Mattowomans. . . ." Maryland Council Proceedings, 1677–83, no. 111, p. 204. (Maryland State Archives)

the treaty of Lancaster of 1744 to join the Six Nations of Iroquois, a commitment approved by the Maryland governor and council (the Piscataways had left Maryland in the 1690s without official approval).[50] In later conferences and negotiations the Nanticokes were identified by name in their new location in New York.[51] Those remaining in Dorchester County complained to Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1759 both of white encroachment and harassment of their "scattered Remnant of a confused Nation." Describing their "Pittifull and lamentable Condition," they stated that there were "but a few of us Remaining nay even But a handfull of us."[52] Two years later Governor Sharpe, responding to queries from the Board of Trade, confirmed the decline by stating that there were only one hundred and twenty Indians in "the Populous parts of the Province."[53] While this number may have been low, it indicated the sharp drop that occurred during the eighteenth century.

Land clearly was the most divisive issue in Indian-white relations in colonial

Maryland. The colony escaped the bloody wars of the Powhatans in Virginia and those of New England. Maryland proprietors persisted in upholding their superior land title, or *dominium directum,* against the claims of both the Jesuits and native Americans. The proprietor and other colonial officials made many efforts to provide for the occupancy of Indians on reserved lands despite the encroachment and harassment of land-hungry whites. Maryland Indian culture encompassed an affinity for Mother Earth, but surviving documents do not reflect the same attachment to a specific place that appeared among some Indian groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[54] The Yaocomacoes agreed to give up their town at the first contact with early settlers at St. Mary's. Various tribes relocated at the direction of colonial officials. The Piscataways secretly departed in the 1690s; officials approved the Nanticokes' removal to New York in the 1740s. Time and circumstance eventually prevailed over love of place.

Notes

1. Imre Sutton, *Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 1–2.

2. Ralph M. Linton, "Land Tenure in Aboriginal America," in Oliver La Farge, ed., *The Changing Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 42.

3. William T. Hagan, *The Indian in American History* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1971), p. 4.

4. Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (2 vols.; Edinburgh, Scotland: J. Grant, 1910), 1:377.

5. Quoted in William Christie MacLeod, "The Family Hunting Territory and Lenápe Political Organization," *American Anthropologist,* new ser., 24 (1922): 450.

6. Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1970). p. 21.

7. Max Savelle, *The Foundations of American Civilization: A History of Colonial America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), p. 58.

8. Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 6.

9. Ibid., p. 8.

10. The original Maryland charter was issued in Latin and may be found in William H. Browne et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 3:3–12. This quotation is taken from Commager, ed., *Documents of American History,* p. 21.

11. See, for example, the two works by Lewis Hanke: *Aristotle and the American Indian* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959), and *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

12. James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law,* Part one, *Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), appendix A, Section 2, p. xxv.

13. Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations: or, Principles of the Law of Nature* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 99–100.

14. Henry Wheaton, *Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York,

1823), 8:588; see also Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), pp. 35–37.

15. Raphael Semmes, "Aboriginal Maryland, 1608–1689," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 24 (1929): 157–72 for the Eastern Shore and 195–209 for the Western Shore.

16. Ibid., 24:209.

17. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1981), p. 22.

18. Frank W. Porter III, *Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). pp. 35–36.

19. Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," *Current Anthropology,* 7 (1966): 395–449. See also the works of Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook.

20. Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), pp. 73–74.

21. Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux, *One Hundred Million Acres* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973), p. 1.

22. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure Among the Northeastern Indians, 1600–1830," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 13 (1957): 311. Wallace argues against alternative theories of "nuclear area," "acculturation," and "common hunting ground," (pp. 311n–312n).

23. MacLeod, "Family Hunting Territory," *American Anthropologist,* 24:448–63; Francis Jennings, "Gloty, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Centuty," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 112 (1968): 47n–48n.

24. W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607–1763* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp. 34–36.

25. William V. Bangert, S. J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), pp. 267–68; Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (St. Mary's County: Bicentennial Commission, 1976), pp. 2–8; Beitzell, "Thomas Copley, Gentleman," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 47 (1952): 209–23.

26. Beitzell, *Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County,* pp. 9–18; Land, *Colonial Maryland,* pp. 40–42.

27. *Archives of Maryland,* 1:248.

28. Ibid., 3:489.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., 3:534.

31. Ibid., 2:25–27.

32. Ibid., 5:34–35.

33. Ibid., 2:196–97.

34. Ibid., 2:200.

35. Ibid., 25:256, William P. Palmer et al., eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts, 1652–1869,* (11 Vols.; Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1875–1893), 1:63–65.

36. For an analysis of this question, see James H. Merrell, "Cultural Continuity Among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.), 36 (1979): 548–70.

37. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland,* p. 131.

38. *Archives of Maryland,* 3:402–403; see also William B. Marye, "Piscattaway," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 30 (1935): 191–92.

39. Marye, "Piscattaway," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 30:196.
40. *Archives of Maryland,* 26:444–45.
41. Ibid., 26:480–81.
42. Ibid., 29:77–78.
43. Land Records, Dorchester County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Old #5, 1692–1701, 214–15.
44. Ibid., Old #8, 1720–1732, 141–42.
45. *Archives of Maryland,* 25:392.
46. Ibid., 25:392–93.
47. Ibid., 34:738–40.
48. Ibid., 1:329–30.
49. Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Microfilm reel 25, No. 295, 67.
50. *Archives of Maryland* 28:338–339.
51. Edmund B. O'Callaghan et al., eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols.; Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, Printer, 1856–1887), 7:142, 380, 8:229. For further details of the move to the north by the Nanticokes, see C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians—Past and Present* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983), pp. 145–77, with a map identifying their different locations on p. 157.
52. *Archives of Maryland,* 31:355–57.
53. Ibid., 32:21, 25.
54. Consider, for example, the intense interest of the Taos Pueblo Indians in New Mexico for Blue Lake or the Teton Sioux for the Black Hills of South Dakota.

John Williamson Palmer: Confederate Agent

DAVID WINFRED GADDY

Through its publication in 1983 of Daniel E. Sutherland's monograph on Dr. John Williamson Palmer (1825–1906) of Baltimore, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* took the first step in rescuing from oblivion an individual deserving of memory solely for his literary production, if not for his enigmatic role in the American Civil War.[1] Dr. Palmer (M.D., University of Maryland, 1847), whose colorful life spanned the period from the California Gold Rush into our century, traveled in the Far East and performed military service under the British in Burma. That exotic chapter closed by 1855, he married twenty-one-year-old Henrietta Lee (1834–1909), a Baltimorean who became an author and translator. The couple settled in New York, where Palmer ceased the practice of medicine and turned to literary pursuits. His work eventually included a travelogue, a play, numerous poems, a novel, and other works of fact and fancy. He served as an editor of dictionaries and a translator from the French of works dealing with women and love.[2]

Palmer also corresponded for New York newspapers and other periodicals. In that capacity, during the Civil War, writing under the nom de plume "Altamont" for the New York *Tribune*, he attracted the attention of Professor Sutherland. Especially interesting was Sutherland's elaboration on Louis M. Starr's earlier discovery[3] that Palmer worked quietly—almost covertly—in the office of the master of transportation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad during the war—a position that afforded access to telegrams and information on the rail movement of troops and supplies. Combining those facts with Palmer's penchant for writing from the Southern viewpoint (Palmer eventually "went South" for good), Sutherland posed the provocative question of just who or what Palmer was—agent for one side or the other, or turncoat.

In fact, John Williamson Palmer was a committed Confederate partisan from the outset. How he reconciled his leanings with loyalty to employers and associates (if, indeed, he felt a moral conflict), whether he engaged in espionage on behalf of the Confederacy, remains to be discovered. But one thing is clear: at least during the last year of the war, Palmer was a propagandist and (to use the modern, Cold-War term) spreader of "disinformation" on behalf of the Southern cause. Not as a soldier or surgeon, but as a practioner of a sophisticated technique that anticipated the present day, Palmer served the Confederate government. He covered his trail well, as befitted a secret agent. This sketch pieces together fragments that eluded him and extends Sutherland's tentative conclusions.

Mr. Gaddy, a New Carrollton resident, has written extensively on secret operations during the Civil War and, with William A. Tidwell and James O. Hall, recently has published *Come Retribution: the Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Mississippi, 1988).

At the outbreak of the war, Palmer, then writing for the *New York Times*, approached editor Henry Raymond with a declaration of personal views and an offer: "Mr. Raymond, what I have expected for a long time has come about. You know I am a Southerner—a 'rebel'—and my place is with my people. But before I leave I have a proposition to make to you."

> Dr. Palmer then told Mr. Raymond that the New York papers were filled with articles about conditions in the South which were grossly and maliciously inaccurate, and he suggested that he be sent to the South as war correspondent of the Times. Mr. Raymond was much taken with the suggestion and agreed to it, and Dr. Palmer went to Richmond and secured letters of recommendation from Henry A. Wise, Senator [James] Mason and other prominent Southerners. Even with these endorsements, however, the task was a hazardous one, and Dr. Palmer carried his life in his hands.[4]

On receipt of Palmer's first contributions, however, Raymond felt sufficiently alarmed at their tone that he feared reader reaction in the North and declined to print them. Rebuffed but undaunted, Palmer returned to the North in early 1862 and offered a similar proposal to the new managing editor of the New York *Tribune*, Sydney Howard Gay. Gay had but recently been hired by owner Horace Greeley to replace Charles A. Dana, who became assistant secretary of war. Eager to expand circulation and impressed by Palmer's credentials, Gay "gladly accepted and Dr. Palmer returned to the South and sent many interesting articles through the lines to his paper by flag of truce."[5] Dr. Sutherland's article revealed the superficial nature of those few words.

Between leaving the *Times* editorial staff and going to work for the *Tribune*, Palmer secured employment in Baltimore with the B&O Railroad, working out of the office of William Prescott Smith, B&O's master of transportation. None of Palmer's postwar writing or biographic sketches mentions this point; Sutherland found the evidence in Palmer's correspondence with Gay, which has survived.

Palmer transmitted messages overnight by the B&O's telegraph and special couriers, procured railroad passes for fellow reporters, and "supplied Gay with advance notice of military movements along the line."[6] Why, then, the evident attempt to hide this role, or, at least, to disassociate the journalist from the railroad man, not just at the time, but in later years? Was Palmer simply concerned that some might see this as a conflict of interest? Or could it have been that he feared they might arrive at an uncomfortable conclusion, knowing the avowed Southerner had access to sensitive information?

In his relationship with the *Tribune* (outside of his confidential correspondence with the editor), Palmer again was more than circumspect—he was secretive. In the jargon of today, he was "security conscious" to the extreme, publishing under his nom de plume or a title such as "Our Own Correspondent" and constantly reminding Gay of his dangerous position and his fear of exposure. He avoided having the reader deduce his identity or even location at a given time; the latter consideration may even have moved him occasionally to deceive Gay.

An understandable reason for secrecy surrounded his authorship of what has become his most enduring work, the poem (and song) "Stonewall Jackson's Way," which began

Come, stack arms, men! Pile on the rails,
Stir up the camp-fire bright;
No growling if the canteen fails,
We'll make a roaring night.
Here Shanandoah brawls along,
There burly Blue Ridge echoes strong,
To swell the Brigade's rousing song
Of "Stonewall Jackson's way."

We see him now—the queer slouched hat
Cocked o'er his eye askew;
The shrewd, dry smile; the speech so pat,
So calm, so blunt, so true.
The "Blue-Light Elder" knows 'em well;
Says he, "That's Banks—he's fond of shell;
Lord save his soul! We'll give him—"; well!
That's "Stonewall Jackson's way."[7]

Not until nearly the end of the century did Palmer publicly admit composing the poem, widely described as having been found on the body of a Confederate soldier of the old Stonewall Brigade. Actually, it was written at the Glades Hotel in Oakland, Maryland, on the B&O line in Allegany (now Garrett) County, inspired by news of the Battle of Antietam in September 1862.[8] Early the following month, while touring the battlefield, Palmer let the paper slip from his pocket and lost it. Returning to Baltimore, a city essentially under military occupation, Palmer's pride in his composition almost overcame his normal prudence. He rewrote it from memory, circulated it among friends in the Maryland Club (Southerners all in their sympathies), had it anonymously printed, and even sent a copy to his editor, without identifying himself as author. For obvious reasons, Gay declined to publish it.[9]

Whether Palmer continued after the first year of the war to cross back into Confederate territory cannot be determined with any certainty, but he seems to have retained good sources of information for his articles. In the early months of 1863, while in New York visiting his editor, he succumbed to the bottle. Gay saw to his "drying out" and got him back to Baltimore, where Palmer spent some months recovering. That summer he resumed his secret life as Confederate correspondent for the *Tribune*. In July he submitted a piece concerning a proposed meeting between Confederate Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens and President Lincoln, ostensibly to discuss the exchange of prisoners of war. According to Palmer, Stephens planned to use the occasion to warn the North against the use of black troops in the Union army, and to threaten in retaliation to raise a Southern army of a hundred thousand slaves. Palmer enclosed to Gay a letter from one "Randolph" to Horace Greeley, begging aid in heading off such a horror. Gay was shocked. He strongly questioned the veracity of Palmer's reporting, forcing Palmer into the awkward position of disclosing that his information came from "highest official sources" in the rebel capital. Gay then concluded that the story had been fed to Palmer by Confederate officials who saw their cause slipping into a desperate situation.[10]

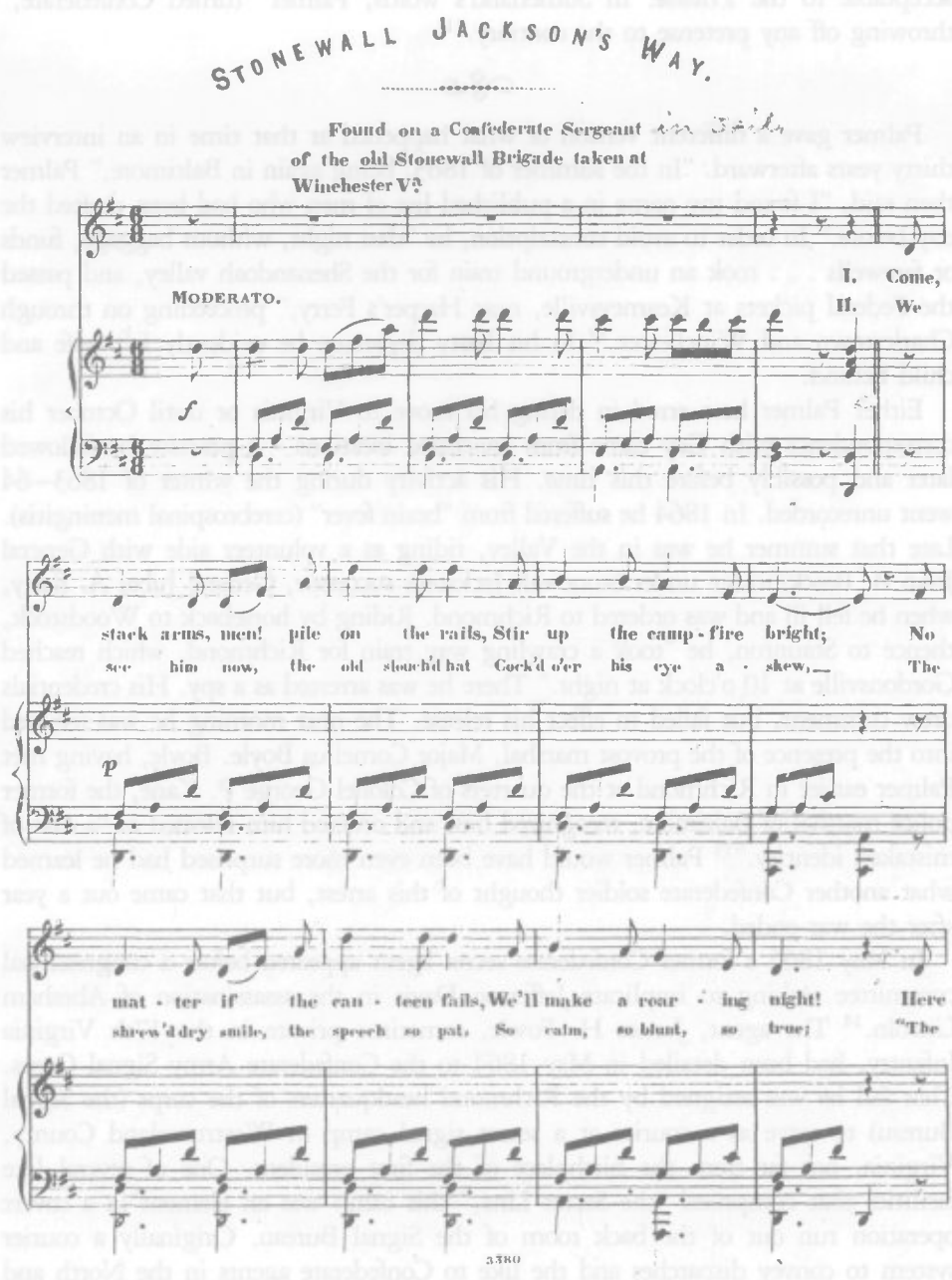

FIGURE 1. Songsheet, "Stonewall Jackson's Way," published by Miller & Beacham, Baltimore, c. 1862. (Maryland Historical Society)

By Sutherland's account, Palmer in August 1863 entered into an agreement with Gay again to go behind Southern lines in his quest for news, and in September he was conveniently transferred by his B&O employers to a job near Newport News, Virginia. His articles flowed as planned; then, suddenly, a rupture took place and Gay fired him. At the end of October 1863, Palmer ceased to be

acceptable to the *Tribune*. In Sutherland's words, Palmer "turned Confederate," throwing off any pretense to the contrary.[11]

Palmer gave a different version of what happened at that time in an interview thirty years afterward. "In the summer of 1863, being again in Baltimore," Palmer then said, "I found my name in a published list of men who had been drafted the day before." In order to avoid conscription, he "that night, without baggage, funds or farewells . . . took an underground train for the Shenandoah valley, and passed the Federal pickets at Kearneysville, near Harper's Ferry," proceeding on through Charlestown and Winchester.[12] In his hasty departure he evidently left wife and child behind.

Either Palmer here erred in dating his move to Virginia or until October his correspondence with Gay came from concealed locations—a practice he followed later and possibly before this time. His activity during the winter of 1863–64 went unrecorded. In 1864 he suffered from "brain fever" (cerebrospinal meningitis). Late that summer he was in the Valley, riding as a volunteer aide with General John B. Breckinridge under Stonewall Jackson's successor, General Jubal A. Early, when he fell ill and was ordered to Richmond. Riding by horseback to Woodstock, thence to Staunton, he "took a crawling way train for Richmond, which reached Gordonsville at 10 o'clock at night." There he was arrested as a spy. His credentials drew comment, but failed to effect his release. The next morning he was ushered into the presence of the provost marshal, Major Cornelius Boyle. Boyle, having met Palmer earlier in Richmond at the quarters of Colonel George P. Kane, the former police marshal of Baltimore, recognized him and ordered him released as "a case of mistaken identity."[13] Palmer would have been even more surprised had he learned what another Confederate soldier thought of this arrest, but that came out a year after the war ended.

In May 1866 a former Confederate secret agent appeared before a congressional committee seeking to implicate Jefferson Davis in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.[14] The agent, James H. Fowle, sometime private in the 17th Virginia Infantry, had been detailed in May 1864 to the Confederate Army Signal Corps. That fall he was assigned by the Richmond headquarters of the corps (the Signal Bureau) to serve as a courier at a secret signal camp in Westmoreland County, Virginia, not far from the birthplace of the first president. One of several like facilities that comprised "the Secret Line," this camp was an element in a covert operation run out of the back room of the Signal Bureau. Originally a courier system to convey dispatches and the like to Confederate agents in the North and Canada, the Secret Line had become a regular network for espionage.[15] It was there that Fowle first heard of Dr. Palmer. He was convinced that Palmer was really a Union agent, and that was the story he told the committee.

Fowle said he suspected Palmer of disloyalty because, while in Richmond, he was corresponding with the New York *Tribune*. Asked how he knew, Fowle responded that he and his comrades had opened some of the voluminous dispatches consigned to them to carry across the Potomac; inside they found articles for the Northern press. One incident in particular aroused Fowle's suspicion—in No-

vember 1864 he opened what purported to be an official dispatch from the secretary of war. Inside he found correspondence from Palmer to William Prescott Smith (his B&O boss). Fowle stated that he knew Palmer was in the secret service of the Confederate War Department, ergo, such correspondence indicated disloyalty, a view he said was held by his commander[16] and corroborated by what he heard in Union territory.[17] He also said that Palmer had been arrested as a spy, doubtless alluding to the Gordonsville incident.[18] Fowle failed to perceive that a Union war correspondent writing from Richmond could also be a Confederate agent.

These facts emerge in a letter of 12 August 1864 from Burton N. Harrison, private secretary to President Davis, to Secretary of War James A. Seddon:

> Sir:
> Dr. John Williamson Palmer came here recently from Baltimore. He is a gentleman of rare talents and accomplishments and has written several most agreeable books as well as many contributions to newspapers. He is well known to our best friends in Maryland and belongs to a family of fine social position. *He has been an active and zealous friend of our cause* and is capable of rendering great service to us now in the peculiar relation in which the New York press sustains to the U.S. government. I had hoped that the Hon. Secretary of State [Judah P. Benjamin] would avail himself at once of the undoubted facilities which Dr. Palmer offers for direct influence upon the editorials and policy of the "Tribune" and other New York journals. But he, for reasons entirely satisfactory to all parties, declines using him as an agent and employee of the government—expressing at the same time his trust in his loyalty and good faith and extending to other persons an assurance of his willingness to see the doctor employed by them for the purpose indicated. I am persuaded that much can be accomplished by opening up this channel of intercourse with the northern papers and earnestly hope that every facility will be offered by the officers of the government for the trial of the experiment at least. In order to carry out his purpose it will be necessary for the doctor to proceed to the lower valley and to have a general passport from the War Office. Will you not be good enough to issue to him such a paper as will answer his purposes. . . .[19]

A notation on the file copy of Harrison's request indicates that the pass was issued.

Many years later, Dr. Charles Elisha Taylor—Baptist minister, professor, and president of Wake Forest College—supplied more missing pieces of the puzzle. Writing of a time when, as Charlie Taylor, a signalman assigned from Jeb Stuart's cavalry, he served at headquarters in Richmond, he told of a colorful fellow he encountered in connection with the bureau's "back room" operation:

> One of the habitues of the Richmond office for several months was Dr. P.—, one of the most versatile and gifted men whom I have ever known. He had traveled all over the world and was a thorough Bohemian in his manner of life. He had been connected with some of the best New York newspapers and was himself an author of repute. This gentleman was employed to write letters, purporting to be from Washington, to a number of the most influential and widely circulated newspapers in the North. They were written for the purpose of molding public opinion adversely to the continuance of the war and for other more specific purposes. Some of these letters, written in Richmond, though dated from Washington, were published in the great New York dailies as "From our own correspondent." I remember that at the time

FIGURE 2. "Webster leaped from the wagon while it was in motion." From Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* . . . (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1883). In the memoirs of an agent on whom Lincoln relied for intelligence, a contemporary artist portrayed a moon-lit escape from the kind of buggy journalists —known as the "Bohemian Brigade"—employed at the front. (Photo: Jeff D. Goldman)

> when the Confederate Congress was discussing the policy of arming battalions of slaves, letters were written by Dr. P.—, urging that the United States Government should make peace before the Confederate army should receive the new reinforcement. And most adroitly was this literary deception carried out.[20]

Surviving fragments of official records confirm Palmer's employment in the secret service of the Confederate War Department during those final, hectic months of the war. As Taylor stated, Palmer worked out of the Signal Bureau, the office of Major William Norris of Baltimore, head of the Signal Corps and its alter ego, the Secret Service Bureau of the War Department. Norris organized the Secret Line, turned the courier service into an espionage network, and worked closely with an old friend from Washington, D.C., Colonel ("Judge") Robert Ould, in exploiting the exchange of prisoners.[21]

Records of the Confederate Secretary of War refer to Palmer's secret service during this period,[22] including one instance in which he used his Northern contacts in an effort to save the life of a condemned Confederate agent. In December 1864, while visiting Richmond on official business from his post at Andersonville prison, Lieutenant Samuel Boyer Davis encountered Signal Sergeant Harry Hall Brogden (agent Fowle's commander) at a Christmas party. Dashing, handsome young Brogden, from an Anne Arundel County, Maryland family split by the war, lamented that he had to carry important papers through enemy territory to Canada. He was known in the North. He had been captured once before and imprisoned, and he had no wish to repeat the experience, but there was no one else for the mission. To Davis this evidently sounded like a romantic lark—he volunteered to take Brogden's place, trading his "new" face for his lack of experience. Off went Davis to Canada, one of three couriers (although he might not have known it) attempting to get through with papers attesting to the official status of Confederate raider John Yates Beall, who had been arrested and threatened with death as a

spy.[23] Davis made the trip safely, but, on his return, carrying messages to Richmond written on pieces of silk concealed inside his coat, he was recognized by a former Union prisoner of war, arrested, and charged as a spy. Hanging seemed a certainty.[24]

On 10 February 1865 Dr. Palmer wrote to the new Confederate Secretary of War, General John C. Breckinridge, who had just assumed the post a week earlier —the same Breckinridge with whom Palmer had ridden the previous year. The doctor offered to write in a personal capacity to "two persons occupying confidential & influential positions in Washington, and having at all times the ear of the President of the U.S." to protest the innocence of Davis as a spy. Palmer said that, if the Secretary approved, the letters could be dispatched via flag-of-truce boat the following day. He added that he could be found at the office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury[25] until 3 P.M., after which he could be reached at the office of the Signal Corps, that is, Norris's Signal Bureau. In a related letter of 18 February, signed simply "J. W. Palmer, Signal Office," he explained that he had written and identified the addressees as Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana and Gay of the *Tribune*. Palmer said that the letters had been sent through Generals Lee and Grant; he wondered if they had achieved the desired results. Then, on 25 February, he notified Breckinridge that a Northern newspaper had reported Davis's being accorded the status of prisoner of war.[26]

From the above accounts Palmer's role begins to emerge, and Taylor's concise version told the story well. At least during the last months of the war, based in Richmond, Palmer continued to write as if a journalist in the North. His dispatches were then smuggled across the Potomac and deposited in post offices in Washington or Baltimore, giving them a postmark to add to the camouflage. Palmer wrote at the dictate of Richmond's inner circle of leadership. He dwelled on themes intended to provoke fear in the North—discontent with the Lincoln administration, the threat to arm masses of slaves, and the prospect for European intervention on behalf of the Confederacy—anything that Richmond might exploit or find useful. The work of Henry Hotze in London as editor of the *Index* is the classic case of Confederate propaganda. Dr. Palmer's undercover operation adds to our appreciation of the scope and sophistication of Confederate techniques.

In the premature and hasty evacuation of Richmond on 2 April 1865 Palmer, a civilian with no official status, remained in the city. Among the victorious Union visitors to the burned-out city was Dana, whom Palmer approached seeking permission to return to Baltimore to his wife and child. Dana asked if he knew where President Davis had gone. Palmer responded that he did, but that he had come to seek a pass, "not to betray the President." "I never thought you would," Dana reportedly replied, evidently having no suspicion of Palmer or seeing him as a draft-dodger. He issued the pass on Palmer's promise to stop by the War Department in Washington and report in, which Palmer did. He continued by rail to Baltimore, reaching his home the evening President Lincoln was assassinated.[27]

Articles appearing in the *Atlantic* after 1866 prove that Palmer resumed writing, drawing upon his Asian adventures, medicine, and other subjects that reflected his

wide interests. Two pieces drew upon sad personal experiences; in 1869 and 1870 he wrote from firsthand knowledge about the problems of alcoholism and of the asylum for the treatment of alcoholics in Binghamton, New York, where he had sought to free himself of that affliction.[28] He afterward settled in New York City, writing for periodicals, publishing books or new editions of earlier ones he had written, and, by the mid-1880's, working for the Century Company on an English dictionary.[29] The titles of his postwar books indicate his intellectual range (see the appended list). At about the turn of the century he left New York for good and returned to Baltimore, where he lived his remaining years as a grand old man of letters. He died at his home on McCulloh Street, much honored and full of years, just short of his eighty-first birthday.[30]

Among those paying homage to Dr. Palmer were the Confederate veterans of the city, setting at rest any question of his allegiance and service to the Confederate cause (he had been an honorary member of the Isaac R. Trimble Camp, United Confederate Veterans). The camp turned out a distinguished group for the funeral held at Mount Calvary Episcopal Church, Madison Avenue and Eutaw Street. Honorary pallbearers included "General" Andrew C. Trippe; "General" John Gill (who as a private had served in the signal corps and been rewarded with a sergeancy in that small, elite organization); Professor Henry E. Shepherd, an educator well able to appreciate Palmer's literary ability; John W. Scott and Winfield Peters, co-commanders of the Trimble Camp; M. Warner Hewes, camp quartermaster; and Dr. James G. Wiltshire, its assistant surgeon. Burial took place at Loudon Park Cemetery, where Henrietta joined him three years later.[31]

And so the enigma remains. John Williamson Palmer wrote extensively, but much that he wrote appeared under a pseudonym or anonymously in a variety of periodicals and newspapers. His identified writings probably constitute a fraction of what he published. His travels between North and South during the Civil War cannot be pin-pointed or documented with confidence. The form his loyalty to the South took before the fall of 1863 or 1864 can only be speculated upon. His writings about Southern heroes like Stonewall Jackson may have contributed to war-weariness in the North and bolstered the morale of any pro-Southern readers, but we cannot know. Some of his articles, as Sutherland illustrated, rise above parochialism; Palmer ultimately was too much a humanitarian to exult in war, even as he admired bravery and appreciated "la gloire." He was too much an American not to be depressed by the horror wreaked on his beloved land.[32] Did he, even before 1863–64 serve as a conduit for Confederate propaganda? Did he use his position in the information center of the B&O to funnel sensitive intelligence southward? Those provocative questions Sutherland originally posed must remain unanswered. John Williamson Palmer the man merits further study. Some fifty-odd years ago an article in the Baltimore *Sun* put the case fairly: it called the Asian veteran "A Maryland Buddhist Whose Worth Shames Maryland's Neglect."[33]

NOTES

1. Daniel E. Sutherland, " 'Altamont' of the *Tribune*: John Williamson Palmer in the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 78 (1983): 54–66. Professor Sutherland's piece

was based principally on Palmer's correspondence with the wartime editor of the New York *Tribune*, Howard Sydney Gay.

2. "John Williamson Palmer" folder in the Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore. This collection includes newspaper clippings, a few letters from Palmer circa 1901, and notes and extracts. A significant item is a biographical tribute to Palmer published on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in the 4 April 1905 *Sun*, annotated by Palmer. Biographic sketches of Palmer conflict and frequently misstate facts, especially with respect to the war period.

3. Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade; Civil War Newsmen in Action* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), p. 290. J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh; University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), makes a single, passing reference to Palmer, illustrating the dearth of information about Palmer before Sutherland. Andrews notes, as a matter of pertinence to the present article, that "no newspaper, with the possible exception of the Knoxville *Whig*, was so thoroughly detested the length and breadth of the South as was the *Tribune*" (p. 17).

4. Baltimore *Sun* obituary, Dielman File.

5. Ibid.

6. Sutherland, "Altamont," pp. 55–56. Palmer's position therefore would have been somewhat analogous to that held by a Union agent in the South, Samuel Ruth, wartime superintendant of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad. See Meriwether Stuart, "Samuel Ruth and General R. E. Lee: Disloyalty and the Line of Supply to Fredericksburg, 1862–1863," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 71 (1963): 35–109, and "Of Spies and Borrowed Names," ibid., 89 (1981): 308–27. It is interesting to relate Sutherland's speculative comment with that of a contemporary Baltimore editor, William Wilkins Glenn, writing in his journal about information leaks from Washington during this period: "few dispatches pass over the wires which are not taken off by drop wires and forwarded if necessary to Richmond." See Bayly Ellen Marks and Mark Norton Schatz, eds., *Between North and South: A Maryland Journalist Views the Civil War: The Narrative of William Wilkins Glenn 1861–1869*. (Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976), pp. 82–83. The term "drop wires" would presumably refer to wire-tapping or other diverted flow of telegrams.

7. Frances Fisher Browne, ed., *Bugle-Echoes: A Collection of Poetry of the Civil War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1886), pp. 89–91.

8. Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols.; New York: Review of Reviews, 1911), vol. 9, *Poetry and Eloquence from the Blue and the Gray*, p. 88. In the introduction (p. 86), Dr. Dudley H. Miles cites the date 1891 for revelation of the authorship of the poem; however, Palmer was correctly identified as its author in *Bugle-Echoes* (1886), cited above. Miles does include an account written by Palmer, relating the circumstances of its writing. That account accords with one given circa 1893 by Palmer to the Baltimore *Sun*, but not seen elsewhere. The latter account is significant for detail about Palmer's war-time activity. It also provides the basis for rival claims to the composition of the poem and may account for variants in published versions, namely, that Palmer lost the original while touring the Antietam battlefield and later, at his father's urging, reconstructed it from memory in Baltimore. Palmer tended to "word-smith" his originals, and may well have done so in this case, compounding the problem of memory. Examples of the variation include, in the first stanza, "matter," instead of "growling;" in the third, substituting English for the Latin "*in forma pauperis;*" "Yankees," instead of "Dutchmen," in the fifth, etc.

9. Sutherland, " 'Altamont,' " and the Baltimore *Sun* interview noted above. The placename, Altamont (near Oakland on the B&O), meaning "the mountain top," might have inspired Palmer's pen name. See ibid., pp. 56 and 65–66 (note 7).

10. Ibid., p. 59. Perhaps "Randolph" was George Wythe Randolph (1818–1867), grandson of Thomas Jefferson and Confederate secretary of war from March to November 1862. An able man, he resigned his cabinet post due to what he viewed as continuous interference by President Davis. He resumed law practice and a role in Richmond society.

11. Ibid., p. 64.

12. Baltimore *Sun* clipping, "Origin of a War Song," circa 1893, Dielman File. The fact that Palmer left behind his wife and child became evident when he described his desire to return to them from Richmond.

13. Ibid. For references to Palmer's illness, see also Sutherland, " 'Altamont,' " p. 59. Palmer did not name the provost marshal; that information was provided by William A. Tidwell of Virginia, who has concluded that Boyle's post at Gordonsville was actually what would today be termed an intelligence center. Boyle was one of the District of Columbia militia officers who sided with the South.

14. This committee, chaired by George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, was set up in 1866 pursuant to House resolutions of 9 and 20 April. Its report appeared as House Document #104, 39th Congress, 1st Session, July 1866, but much of the testimony the committee heard, including the bulk of that given by agent Fowle, was not used in the report. Such material was sealed by the chairman and deposited with the clerk of the House. Around 1930 a descendant of congressman (and former Union general) Benjamin F. Butler, a member of the committee, found a sealed packet among Butler's papers and discovered that it contained the long-lost and presumably destroyed testimony before the Boutwell Committee. He presented the material to the Library of Congress, where it resides among the Butler papers in the Manuscripts Division. I am indebted to James O. Hall of Virginia for bringing Fowle's testimony (hereinafter cited as Fowle, with a number being that of his response to questions, as numbered for reference by the committee) to my attention.

15. David Winfred Gaddy, "William Norris and the Confederate Signal and Secret Service," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (1975): 167–188, reprinted in Paul J. Scheips, ed., *Military Signal Communications* (2 vols.; New York: Arno Press, 1980). Establishment of the Secret Line is described on pp. 177–178. See also David Winfred Gaddy, "Gray Cloaks and Daggers," *Civil War Times Illustrated,* July 1975, pp. 20–27.

16. This likely would have been Signal Sergeant Harry Hall Brogden of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, who had charge of the post south of present-day Colonial Beach. See Gaddy, "William Norris," p. 184; Fowle, #1118.

17. Fowle, #1116.

18. Fowle, #1117. In response 829, Fowle stated that Palmer had been the original editor of the Baltimore *Exchange,* edited during the war by William Wilkins Glenn.

19. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, RG 109, National Archives, Microcopy 437.

20. Charles Elisha Taylor, *The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States,* ed. with notes by David Winfred Gaddy (Harmans, Md.: Toomey Press, 1986), pp. 23–24. See also the reference to "Dr. P." in a letter of 10 February 1865 from Major William Norris to Vincent Camalin [Camalier] in Gaddy, "William Norris," p. 183.

21. Gaddy, "William Norris," pp. 177–178, 184.

22. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, RG 109, National Archives, Microcopy 437. See, for example, letters of 7, 20, and 25 February 1865 from Palmer.

23. See Oscar A. Kinchen, *Confederate Operations in Canada and the North* (North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publishing House, 1970), pp. 107–108, 188ff, 193–194.

24. [Samuel Boyer Davis], *Escape of a Confederate Officer from Prison; What He Saw at Andersonville; How He was Sentenced to Death and Saved by the Interposition of President Abraham*

Lincoln (Norfolk, Va.: Landmark Publishing Company, 1892). See also Kinchen, *Confederate Operations,* pp. 196–197. Davis (not to be confused with Private Sam Davis of Tennessee, the "Nathan Hale" of the Confederacy) ostensibly went north carrying official Confederate documentation attesting to the authorization of Beall's actions as legal acts of warfare. As head of the Confederate mission in Canada, Jacob Thompson sent Davis back to Richmond to solicit similar documents sanctioning the raid on St. Albans, Vermont, on 19 October 1864 by a party under Lieutanant Bennett H. Young. Returning, Davis was identified and arrested. Palmer's letters were probably but two of a number of similar appeals to President Lincoln. An interesting footnote on the event (Davis remained in prison until October 1865) is the suggestion by John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), p. 252, that Davis did have a successfully hidden mission other than courier. Twenty years after the fact he called that mission "a secret that will die with me."

25. The second auditor was responsible for auditing the accounts of the War Department. See Henry Putney Beers, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1968), pp. 108, 111. Recent research by William A. Tidwell of Virginia also has revealed that the second auditor covered funding of War Department covert operations (correspondence with the author, 1985–86).

26. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, RG 109, National Archives, Microcopy 437.

27. Baltimore *Sun* interview, circa 1893, Dielman File.

28. See *Atlantic Monthly* for 1869–70: "Our Inebriates, Classified and Clarified" (23:477ff); "Our Inebriates, Harbored and Helped, by an Inmate of the New York State Asylum" (24:109ff); and " 'Quaff,' His Capers, Contradictions and Pure Cussedness" (25:159ff).

29. "Of Days Long Gone," Baltimore *Sun,* 22 October 1898, Dielman File.

30. Baltimore *Sun* obituary, Dielman File.

31. Ibid. In the personally annotated clipping described in note 2 above, Palmer crossed through the words "a Confederate soldier." His period with General Breckinridge in the Valley in 1864 was possibly responsible for the attribution of military service. Palmer's obituary identifies a surviving son, Cortlandt Edward Palmer of New York, a mining engineer. Nearby the gravestone Palmer shares with his wife is another identified as children of the couple, Charlie (1856–1861) and Eddie (1871–1874). Charlie is doubtless the inspiration for the poignant poem, "For Charlie's Sake," used again by Palmer as the title for a collection of his poems.

32. See, for example, Palmer's touching recollection of seeing Lincoln at Sharpsburg (interview, c. 1893, Baltimore *Sun,* Dielman File).

33. Baltimore *Sun,* 5 June 1934, Dielman File.

Whether telling of the exotic Orient, anticipating Bret Harte in tales of old California, writing of travel, history, or medicine, John Williamson Palmer produced works that merit reading even today. His poetry bears the touch of his times. Like his prose, modern readers will find it florid and highly romantic. But for those who still admire poems that scan well, are faithful in rhythm, and rhyme—poems constructed with an ear for the English tongue and a love of alliteration—there is excitement and emotion in his lines. His friend and fellow Confederate, Henry Elliot Shepherd, put it well: Palmer was "endowed with a vigorous lyric faculty and in this regard stands in the foremost rank of representative Maryland poets" (Shepherd, *The Representative Authors of Maryland* [New

York: Whitehall Publishing Co., 1911], p. 100). A contemporary, not knowing that Palmer was the author, termed "Stonewall Jackwon's Way" "the best camp-song of the war" (A. M. Keiley, *In Vinculis; or The Prisoner of War. . . .* [New York: Blelock & Co., 1866], p. 201).

The following is a partial bibliography of his book titles, intended merely as a point of departure. Several of the works went through more than one edition (his first, *The Golden Dagon,* was reissued under its subtitle *Up and Down the Irrawaddi* because, according to a letter to the Baltimore *Sun* [Palmer folder, Dielman File], reviewers--to Palmer's disgust--persisted in calling it *The Golden Dragon*). See also the *National Union Catalog* and, for the Palmer articles and poems that appeared in popular magazines of his day, William Frederick Poole, ed., *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* (rev. ed., 6 vols.; New York: Peter Smith, 1938 [1882]).

The Golden Dagon; or, Up and Down the Irrawaddi . . . (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856; repr. ed. 1859, with titles reversed).

Folk Songs (New York: Scribner, 1856; rev. ed., New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1861, 1864, 1867).

The Queen's Heart (dramatic comedy, 1858, produced by John E. Owens).

The New and the Old; or, California and India in Romantic Aspects (New York: Rudd & Carlton, 1859).

Love (*L'amour,* translated from Michelet; New York: Rudd & Carlton, 1859).

Woman (*La femme,* translated from Michelet; New York: Rudd & Carlton, 1860).

Moral History of Woman (*Histoire morales des femmes,* translated from Legouve, 1860).

Epidemic Cholera (1866; 1886).

The Poetry of Compliment and Courtship (Boston: Tichnor and Fields, 1868, subsequently issued in parts or separate volumes by Charles Scribner, including *Songs of Life, Selected from Many Sources,* 1870; *Songs of the Home,* 1871; *Songs of the Heart,* 1872; *Songs of Nature,* 1873).

The Beauties and Curiosities of Engraving . . . (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co., 1878–79).

A Portfolio of Autograph Etchings . . . (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1881).

After His Kind (a novel written under the penname John Coventry, associating Warwickshire, England, home of Palmer's ancestors, with Maryland; New York: H. Holt and Co., 1886).

Certain Worthies and Dames of Old Maryland (New York, 1896; see also *Century Magazine,* 51 (February 1896).

For Charlie's Sake; and Other Lyrics and Ballads (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1901)

The Craftiest of Men: William P. Wood and the Establishment of the United States Secret Service

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

"When Colonel William P. Wood died yesterday at the Soldiers' Home," declared an unidentified eulogist in the Washington *Evening Star* of 21 March 1903,

> there was removed from the earth a man who had been a prominent figure in the National Capital for nearly half a century. He was a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars and . . . was also the first chief of the United States Secret Service when it became part of the Treasury Department. The connection of Col. Wood with the Civil War was unique, and his relations with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton were absolutely confidential. His life was actually sought more than a dozen times, one man crossing the ocean to assassinate him; the Confederates were determined to capture and hang him, and dozens of times he escaped from apparently inextricable dangers by his extraordinary nerve, adroitness, and audacity, coupled with prodigious physical strength and activity. Col. Wood's life was a continuous melodrama bordering on the tragic. . . .

Even allowing for the grandiloquence of obituary notices, one must admit that these statements are not too far out of kilter. Someone from across the sea had in fact nourished the idea of kidnapping, if not assassinating, him.[1] He *had* made clandestine sorties into the Confederacy on government business.[2] He did indeed possess out-of-the ordinary bodily strength and had in truth been a confidant (unpublicized) of Lincoln and Stanton. It is, however, William P. Wood's tenure as first chief of the Secret Service—about which nothing of substance has been known until recently—that concerns us here.[3]

Born in Alexandria, Virginia on 11 March 1824, son of an immigrant engraver and die-sinker, the boy moved with his family to Washington City while still a youngster. He grew up to become an expert model maker and general mechanic. In early 1847, after the outbreak of war with Mexico, young Wood enlisted at Cumberland, Maryland, as a foot soldier in a company of mounted rifles raised by Captain Samuel H. Walker, a Prince George's County native who had attained some celebrity in the Lone Star State (the outfit eventually became the 3rd Cavalry). Wood signed on for the duration and served sixty days, participating in four engagements in the Valley of Mexico.[4]

He made corporal, was reduced to private, was hung by his thumbs for disci-

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Dr. Davis has contributed often to the *Maryland Historical Magazine;* he is completing a book-length account of Wood and the early Secret Service.

plinary reasons, was wounded twice, and still found time to be among those few soldiers who scaled the heights of Mount Popocatepetl. He would never forget "the bloody field of Churubusco," where a single trench held over one hundred American corpses. He also recalled having "had the honor of making the first speech ever delivered by an American in the halls of the Montezumas, commencing his oration when there were less than twenty-five American soldiers in that grand edifice."[5] Now, your average dogface has been grabbing an opportunity of this sort ever since we began going to wars in foreign climes; Private Wood's contribution—a testament to American political and religious values—marked the first recorded example of his life-long taste for speechmaking and opinionating.

Honorably discharged at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, on 1 August 1848, the veteran promptly footed it back to Cumberland. There, the following April, he married a local girl, Harriet Elizabeth Smith, and settled down. In the 1850s the couple determined upon a hazard of new fortunes and removed to Washington, where they made their home for good, producing in due course one daughter and seven sons.

Over the years Wood shed his family Catholicism for atheism. In politics he became a Whig. "I have never held political sympathy with the Democratic party," he later declared "not even in the palmy days of 'Old Hickory'. . . . I preferred to train in the ranks of the respectable old Whig party under the leadership of Henry Clay rather than affiliate with the great unwashed Democracy, believing that the best interests of the Government would be developed under the fostering care of that party whose political shibboleth was the protection of American industries."[6]

With the withering of the Whigs in the 1850s Wood moved over to the new Republican Party (though not to its "radical" wing). He also became active in the American, or Know-Nothing, party in Washington. As the flames of a civil war licked nearer, Virginia-born Wood became a stout Unionist. We are told that he

> drilled men to take part in John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859. Having in the Mexican War and elsewhere become proficient in military matters, he revised and in part composed the book of tactics gotten out for the instruction of the abolitionists who were to join Brown . . . to wipe out slavery. Wood would have had charge of the enterprise, but objected to crossing State lines under arms. Unable to convince Brown that the methods he wanted to pursue would lead him to the halter if he failed, as he was sure to do, Wood and his men remained out of the Harper's Ferry raid and quietly disbanded after Brown's defeat and his death on the scaffold.[7]

On 19 April 1861, after Virginia seceded, Wood led a sortie of eight armed Know-Nothing adherents past the Georgetown defenses and up to Arlington Heights in what he claimed was the first such invasion of rebel soil.[8] When in January 1862 Edwin M. Stanton became secretary of war, the onetime die-sinker found himself with a solid sponsor in the Lincoln administration. During the famous McCormick reaper patent-infringement case of the 1850s, Wood had played a collusive role as "expert witness" against McCormick's claim—under instruction of a legal team headed by Stanton and including the Washington lawyer Peter H. Watson and Abraham Lincoln. (McCormick lost the case, and Stanton

believed that McCormick's reaper meant "more to the North in the Rebellion than slaves to the South, and it prevented the Democratic party from dominating the country".)[9]

Stanton on occasion invited Wood to his chambers of an evening to regale him and Assistant Secretary Watson with the younger man's anecdotes from the Mexican War or the social and political gossip coming to Wood's ears via the capital's streets and alleys.[10] As for the president himself, Wood in due course reported to him on a variety of matters and did not likely forget the day Lincoln hoisted Wood's first-born child, seven-year-old Sam, up "to the towering altitude of his face and kissed him on the forehead."[11]

At the onset of war Wood aspired to appointment as federal marshal of the District, with all the job's perquisites and prestige. He failed, as Lincoln named his long-time crony, Ward H. Lamon, to the post.[12] But Secretary Stanton salved the wound—there had been bitter words between Wood and Lamon—by naming Wood to the superintendency of Old Capitol Prison, the federal penitentiary located near the site of the present Supreme Court building on Capitol Hill. The family resided on the premises, and Wood was effectively in charge from mid-July 1861 until his formal resignation on 30 June 1865. Wood estimated that during his tenure more than thirty thousand prisoners (including females) passed under his purview. Stanton allotted him the equivalency pay of a full colonel of cavalry and before long people referred to him as Colonel Wood.[14]

Though assiduous in his duties at the prison, Wood found himself unable to devote all of his time to it. "Numerous special orders from the Secretary of War, the President and other officials of the Government, made it necessary for me to be absent from the prison," he explained, "frequently from three days to three weeks at a time."[15] Some of these orders sent him on confidential missions into the Confederacy. Other assignments concerned funds ferreted illegally from the government by a variety of individuals nursing a variety of wartime schemes. The War Department had employed a detective, Lafayette C. Baker, to look into allegations of wide-spread recruiting scandals in New York City. When Baker's manner began to grate on Stanton, the secretary requested Wood to share the investigation. He did so, and though in turn alienated by Baker's strident egotism, Wood made at least one arrest.[16]

Wood also learned and informed the Navy Department that professional thieves were bilking it of large sums at its Brooklyn yard. A paymaster there, one Major Belknap, was accused of stealing over $100,000. Wood believed him innocent and eventually got the case carried to the presidential level.[17] These endeavors, Wood assured former Maryland governor Francis Thomas, who was involved in one such case, "resulted in the recovery of about $200,000." The government should hang on to every penny so recovered, said Wood—but also repay him "for special services in detecting the frauds."[18] Had not his patron, Secretary Stanton, promised him proper credit and remuneration? "On these assurances I undertook the contract, and secured the return to the Government of over $150,000," Wood declared, "and for this service I have never been paid one dollar."[19] Such remonstrances, though he could not foresee it, began a decades-long jousting with the federal bureaucracy.

More and more the prison super found his time taken up with the problem of counterfeit currency. Most paper money of the period was issued by private banks (federal greenbacks appeared in 1861), and since there was no standard of bank performance or uniformity of design, the situation offered dandy opportunities for would-be counterfeiters. "Koniackers," Wood tagged them, archaically. "At this time," he recalled, "it was currently reported that about one-tenth of the money in circulation was counterfeit."[20] Both his secret missions and prison operations made him a likely candidate for appointment to a more challenging post, and on 2 July 1864 Congress authorized organization of the Secret Service as a branch of the Treasury Department. At this point, according to Wood, there were no records, no employees, no assignments—no organized detective force in all the federal government. So-called "independent detectives" flourished on contract work, battening on the body politic.[21]

That summer—acting on Stanton's authorization, taking what prison staff he could spare, and functioning as he saw fit—Wood penetrated the area west of the Alleghenies. One of the early versions of the greenback—the one-hundred-dollar, spread-eagle version—had surfaced "in the queer" in Indiana and badly flooded Missouri. On the journey Wood began to get a picture of the typical "koniacker." Counterfeiters were like Gypsies, he wrote.

> They prefer to marry in families who are thieves, murderers or kindred violators of law, and they rarely trust any confederate who attempts to put on any style unbecoming one of the fraternity. As a class the whole tribe west of the Alleganies are a rough illiterate mob, as ready to aid in sandbagging a drunk, stealing horses, or robbing a train as to follow their vocation of making and circulating counterfeit money.[22]

Wood's favorite method was to float the rumor in a given area that his suspects would be handled roughly; he spread the news that his targets would have "no opportunity to dicker with local detectives." Backed up by trusted subordinates, he

> made unexpected raids to capture these violators of the law. In nearly all the states west of the Alleganies wherever the Flag of our Union floated, I secured prisoners. I made no pretense that my arrests were sanctioned by civil authority, and from the fact that my raids were without military escort, and the further fact that I did not solicit assistance from State or local authority I rather surprised the professional counterfeiter. I was threatened with every species of demolition, but took my chances at capturing or being captured in these lively undertakings.
>
> Toward the close of the Rebellion I had secured quite a museum of counterfeit plates, and hundreds and thousands of counterfeit greenbacks and fractional currency, and performed the service under cover of a single letter-sheet 'by order of the Secretary of War.'[23]

As early as the fall of 1864 Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, the Maine lawyer William Pitt Fessenden, requested Stanton to release Wood from his prison post and permit him to move over to Treasury. Stanton finally granted his permission, but not until July of the following year when, the war over, Wood closed his accounts with Stanton and reported to his new boss, Treasury Solicitor Edward P. Jordan. Wood's first act was to remind Jordan that the detective had "never received any remuneration whatever for service rendered in the detection, arrest and

FIGURE 1. A one-hundred-dollar United States Legal Tender Note dated 10 March 1863. Robert Friedberg, *Paper Money of the United States* (New York: Coin and Currency Publishing Institute, 1953). Strapped with growing war debts, Congress in 1861 authorized "greenbacks"—the earliest federal paper money to appear. The bill above bore red seals and on its reverse displayed intricate patterns that would make counterfeiting difficult—though never impossible. (Photo: Jeff D. Goldman)

prosecution of counterfeiters." If dissatisfied on that score, Wood happily took control of the infant Secret Service. He was now "chief of the detective force to act under the direction of the Solicitor of the Treasury in detecting and bringing to punishment persons engaged in counterfeiting."[24]

The new chief's little group of operatives numbered about thirty, some of them former independent detectives familiar with counterfeiting cases, some of them cronies or acquaintances from the war. One of Wood's earliest acts, probably in the summer or autumn of 1865, was to prepare six "general orders" for the guidance of the department:

1. Each man must recognize that his service belongs to the government through 24 hours of every day.
2. All must agree to assignment to the locations chosen by the Chief and respond to whatever mobility of movement the work might require.
3. All must exercise such careful saving of money spent for travel, subsistence, and payments for information as can be self-evidently justified.
4. Continuing employment in the Service will depend upon demonstrated fitness, ability as investigators, and honesty and fidelity in all transactions.
5. The title of regular employees will be Operative, Secret Service. Temporary employees will be Assistant Operatives or Informants.

FIGURE 2. William P. Wood, chief of the Secret Service, 1865–1869. (Courtesy of the U.S. Secret Service, Department of the Treasury)

6. All employment will be at a daily pay rate; accounts submitted monthly. Each operative will be expected to keep on hand enough personal reserve funds to carry on Service business between pay days.[25]

Another of Wood's early actions (in June 1866) was to request a $25 bonus for each operative who nabbed a suspect. While the solicitor thought agents' pay "sufficiently remunerative," he went along.[26] Now about a year old, the service had collared an estimated two hundred or more counterfeiters.[27]

Still, its record was not unsullied. Just a few years later a division spokesman would confess that "the term 'Secret Service' conveys to uninformed minds, an irresponsible body of men, with an almost illimitable supply of money, adopting unscrupulous means to accomplish infamous ends."[28] In August 1868 Wood issued a set of revised guidelines, which pursued the same objects of the earlier directive but laid them out in greater detail. Wood had them printed in a sixteen-page *Circular of Instructions*.[29] An accompanying letter, dated 1 August 1868, put the situation in part as follows: "The varied field of operations in the prosecution of the business of the Secret Service Division, and the great difference in the working abilities of the operatives, has demonstrated the necessity of some rule whereby the indolent or incompetent operative shall not be classed or awarded in the same manner, as the active and efficient operative." The instructions were seventeen in number. Condensed, they read as follows:

1. "The greatest circumspection will be required of all employés, in their official and general deportment." Any transgressions, especially intoxication, should be reported.

2. "All employés will be assigned their duty in some particular State or judicial district," unless an emergency dictates a transfer.

3. "All prosecutions or arrests will be made in strict conformity to the civil law. . . ."

4. "Employés are strictly prohibited from contracting debt or borrowing money . . . by representing that they are in the employ of the Division. . . ."

5. "No employé will divulge" his operational instructions or publicly recognize or converse with a fellow employé unless confidentiality is assured.

6. "Any employé requiring the assistance of any other operative" will make application through Division headquarters.

7. "The strictest vigilance is enjoined in the care of persons under arrest." Receipts must be given for all effects or monies.

8. "No employé will be permitted to receive any money or article of value, either as pay or gratuity, from any persons whomsoever. . . ."

9. "Every employé will be required to keep a memorandum of all counterfeit Government securities" and related materials coming within his knowledge or possession.

10. "No employé will, on any account," deliver any counterfeit materials to an unauthorized individual.

11. "No employé will contract any obligation" or liability without written authority. But the employé may obtain temporary assistance of no more than three days "in pressing cases not admitting of delay."

12. Employés wishing to employ assistants must certify to the character of such individuals, whose pay will be three dollars and fifty cents per day.

13. Daily compensation will be five dollars; daily subsistence, three dollars. Travelling expenses will be calculated on the "most economical and direct route. . . "

14. "All fees received for attendance at courts, or for mileage, will be reported to the Division."

15. "All communication with the Division will be by mail. The telegraph will be used only in cases not admitting of delay."

16. Reports fully and specifically listing each day's operation are required of all employés, who should forward them "to the Chief of Division on the 7th, 15th, 23rd, and last days of each month."

17. "To insure prompt settlement of account, all items of expenditure must be fully explained."

Meanwhile the "koniackers" hardly restricted their depradations to the Midwest. On the East Coast their clustering point was New York City. Wood chose to base his counter-operations at Taylor's Hotel in nearby Jersey City because it was "more suitable" for his purposes. There, he reported, "many singular characters called to see me."[30] Among those engaging his attention was an immigrant from Prussia named Charles Ulrich.

Ulrich, Wood soon discovered, was a highly skilled offender who counterfeited wherever he found a graver and a press. Indeed, the chief suspected that some ten-dollar "queer" circulating had somehow been printed by Ulrich back in his homeland.[31] In March 1867 Wood and Marshal Robert Murray, head of the New York Police Department, interrogated Ulrich in one of the federal court buildings on Chambers Street. The record of the interrogation ran to 53 pages, foolscap[32] and its main thrust was the venality of the New York police.

Ulrich worked under the tutelage of an Englishman, James Colbert, and could count on being tipped off whenever Colbert's quarters were in danger of being "overhauled" by law men. By now the Prussian claimed he had disbursed $19,600

to detectives or deputy marshals, one or more of whom "were in the habit of telegraphing to Jim Colbert everything that transpired in the Marshal's office." Some time back Wood had discovered that Ulrich and a crony had set up what Wood termed "an outside Bureau of Engraving and Printing" in Cincinnati. He arrested both men, but, as they were "flush," they bribed their way out of jail. Ulrich fled to Canada. Wood pursued and nabbed him in Toronto, but while awaiting extradition papers the suspect escaped custody and scampered back to the states. Again Wood pursued, and when he caught up with the Prussian saw to it that he was tried in federal court and sentenced to prison.[33]

A more heinous offender who flourished during Wood's tenure in the Secret Service was William E. Brockway. Brockway masterminded the reproduction of nearly perfect imitations of the thousand-dollar United States notes of the type called 5/20s and 7/30s because they paid interest at 5.20 percent and 7.30 percent. The forgeries were so well executed that such established banking houses as Jay Cooke & Company of New York accepted them. The fraud eventually surfaced in the autumn of 1867, by which time some $80,000 had been floated.

Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch, a prominent Indiana banker, became "greatly exercised and alarmed" over the matter and on 9 October called a conference of his senior aides, officials from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and Wood. A fretful, hour-long discussion ensued. Some of the experts contended that the issues were flawless: they *had* to be legitimate. Others, including Wood, contended they were not so. Wood said they were false but also "something else," derived from a plate struck from an original by the process of electrolysis. When McCulloch had absorbed the minutiae of this argument he promised a bonus "if you, Col. Wood can bring me those electroplates. . . . Here is a matter of the gravest consequence to us," McCulloch said further (as Assistant Solicitor H. A. Risley recalled the exchange), "and the government can afford to pay you a large reward if you will unearth this thing and shield us from the danger in it. . . . Col. Wood said, how much? I am a poor man and if you will give me a sufficient reward I will leave my position here and work the case up. The Secretary said you shall have fifteen thousand dollars. We can afford to pay you that at any rate and you shall have it."[34]

Wood accepted the challenge and put in weeks of work. In due course he reported the electroplates captured and took them to the department, where they were exhibited in McCulloch's room. All elements of the crime were in custody except the seal, a separately crafted component and among the last to be impressed. Wood fetched a sample from the department treasurer's office for comparison and thereby became "the first person to demonstrate that the red seal of the Treasury, which appears on the face of the spurious issue, was a counterfeit."[35] Wood also discovered the name of the crook who had bribed a treasury printer to obtain a plate in the first place: William E. Brockway, going by the name of Spencer, for some time tagged "The King of the Counterfeiters." On 22 July 1868 an agreement was concluded between Wood and Secretary McCulloch, in the presence of Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy (a Kansas Republican), whereby Pomeroy would re-

FIGURE 3. "While she was struggling in his grasp, he was startled by a violent clutch upon his collar from behind." From Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* . . . (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1883). A Victorian impression of a lawman at work—one that fit well with Wood's account of his earlier exploits on the trail of "koniackers." (Photo: Jeff D. Goldman)

quest a congressional appropriation of $25,000 to settle the financial aspects of the matter.[36] The bill passed both House and Senate and became law only three days later. Ere long Wood got $5,000 of the appropriation but felt this was not nearly enough.

Which brings us back to William E. Brockway, alias "Long Bill," alias "William E. Spencer," described in Secret Service records thusly: "Slim build; features long and spare; very long neck; sharp nose; faint anchor tattoed on back of left wrist three inches long and a half inch wide."[37] This knight-errant hailed from Connecticut and was a plate printer by trade. He had utilized his talents nefariously as far back as the 1840s, when New York authorities caught him counterfeiting bills upon the New Haven County Bank. That conviction earned him a sojourn in Sing Sing. Upon release, he ran off with an acquaintance's wife, and by the early 1860s the couple was residing in Paulsborough, on the Delaware River in south Jersey. This place, in Wood's view, "was the rendezvous of a most dangerous combination of counterfeiters, and the headquarters for the delivery of counterfeits thoughout the eastern portion of the United States." Owing to his prominence in the eyes of the law, Brockway was "erroneously supposed to be an intelligent, daring fellow." In point of fact, wrote Wood, "he is simply an illiterate, coarse and cowardly vagabond, without even the rudiments of a commmon school education."[38]

On the other hand, one of Brockway's cronies, Charley Adams—alias "Langdon W. Moore," a Massachusetts native—was in Wood's opinion "well-bred, ingenious, intelligent." The man had, indeed,

> the most successful record of any bank burglar in America, one of the most prominent of his exploits being the robbery of the Concord Bank, of Massachusetts, which he successfully relieved of its entire assets, with the proceeds of which he, in company with his favorite mistress, temporarily located their residence in New Jersey.

In due course Adams was betrayed to the New York police by a pal, "Blacksmith Tom." In exchange for the return of a major portion of the Concord Bank fund, the police turned Adams loose. The man was convinced that his arrest had been ultimately instigated by Brockway, and in bitterness he sought out Wood. He had significant information. He informed the chief that

> Brockway had confederates in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing,[39] and was in possession of lead impressions of nearly all the denominations of United States Government securities; and had also a full size 5/20 United States bond plate engraved on steel nearly completed, which Brockway had secreted for future operations.

As a divertissement, Adams provided Wood with "a singular story" in connection with that plate:

> while the engraver was putting on the finishing touches he experienced a hemorrhage [*sic*] of the nose, a portion of the blood falling on the plate. The engraver, being a superstitious man, and believing it to be a providential warning, refused to have anything further to do with it . . . but Brockway secured the plates and the effort to capture them was unsuccessful. Afterward, however, when this plate was secured by the Government, the blood stains were plainly visible upon it.

Adam's arrest had disrupted the Paulsborough hang-out, and Brockway's whereabouts were unknown—while he and his ring were busily passing some $80,000 in federal bonds.

In due course Wood ferreted out his quarry in Philadelphia. There he answered to the name of William E. Spencer and was "living in luxuriant style with a female who passed as his wife." Wood collared the pair and hustled them over to Jersey City, where he had prepared "special quarters" for their detention at Taylor's Hotel. He then proceeded to interrogate the fugitive, and "our interviews were frequent and spicy," he wrote, until Brockway admitted his true identity.[40] Next, Wood forced disclosure of the plates' hiding place, which proved to be on Long Island. There the pair journeyed, and Brockway "pointed out a pile of stones, near a country road outside of Brooklyn, where the 5/20 plates, bearing the blood stains of the engraver, were secured." In his confession Brockway conceded authorship of the fraud and revealed that he had an accomplice within the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. According to one version of the episode, Brockway asserted that

> Col. Wood got upon his track and followed him up, enticed him out of the way, and that they had a dreadful time, in which Col. Wood came near shooting him. . . . Col. Wood had under some pretense got him off outside of the City [Philadelphia] . . . and had got out of him the facts in the case, and had induced him to deliver up the electroplate or plates.[41]

This episode took place shortly before 1 July 1868.[42]

But Charley Adams and William E. Brockway nursed their own version of the affair. Adams, alias Langdon W. Moore, asserted that Wood

> acted only on the advice given by Moore; took Brockway into custody on a fictitious charge; secured the cooperation of one of Moore's female accomplices at Moore's suggestion, and by pursuing a course of threats, based on information furnished by Moore, succeeding in getting Brockway to surrender a set of plates. In consideration

of their surrender Brockway was released and guaranteed immunity from further prosecution.[43]

It would also appear that

> the plates surrendered to Wood were not the ones from which the counterfeit bonds were printed, but were electrotypes which Brockway had made from the original counterfeit plates, and for which, being defective, he had no use. Brockway maintains that the original plates from which the counterfeits were printed, and which were made by him and Charles H. Smith, were buried on Myrtle Avenue, near Jamaica, Long Island, in 1866, and that subsequent changes in the topography, due to grading and filling, made it impossible for them to find them.[44]

This revelation about Brockway, Moore affirmed, "was given upon the distinct understanding that neither Wood nor any other member of the Secret Service Division should claim any part of the reward which had been offered by the Secretary of the Treasury." Brockway's version of events went as follows:

> William P. Wood had arrested me and my wife without complaint or warrant, so far as I then knew, held us for several days, and never knew the charge against us. While under arrest he showed me a counterfeit note, which he said was an electrotype from a lead impression and in speaking of the 7/30 counterfeit bond I asked if it could not have been done in the same manner. He nudged me and said, "Get me some electrotypes of that bond and it will end the matter." I believed the defective plates referred to (these are the plates subsequently turned over to the Treasury Department by Wood) finally reached Wood's hands through my attorney, Judge Stuart, now deceased, since which time William P. Wood has on several occasions demanded large sums of money from me, written letters, sometimes entreating, sometimes threatening, seeking to obtain from me statements I cannot truthfully give, favorable to a claim he has against the United States based upon the delivery of those plates Judge Stuart gave him.[45]

Whom one is to believe—a federal official serving by appointment from the early days of the Civil War, or a man with a record of criminality running back far before that—is a subject to be pondered. It seemed to demonstrate the truth of the adage that, if one plays with pitch long enough, one's finger may well become besmirched. In any event Wood not only had his awards claim to battle over. He was also, as of the spring of 1869, out of a job.

In March of that year President Grant assumed office, and among his new activities was placing a fresh boss at the Department of the Treasury. Out, accordingly, went Wood's old superior, Hugh McCulloch, and in came the Radical Republican George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. A Washington newspaperwoman described him as "in the zenith of life, rather under the medium size and compact, and when tested gives the true ring of the genuine coin, or a perfect piece of porcelain, handsome for all the practical uses of life, but nothing startling or electrical about him. . . ."[46]

On 4 May 1869 the (also new) solicitor of the treasury, E. C. Banfield, apprised Wood that Secretary Boutwell desired to make a change in the Secret Service chief. That same day Wood resigned. "Being a Republican I disclaim all hereditary right to continue in office," he wrote. "Flattering myself that I am sufficient Philosopher

to reason that when officials desire a change of their subordinates, there is no alternative but to comply with their wishes. . . ."[47] Two days afterward a new chief took office, Hiram C. Whitley, also of Massachusetts.[48]

For the rest of his career Wood attempted to wheedle an extra five thousand dollars from the government for his investigative services. He did not succeed: "statutory problems" muddied the picture, and then there was the alleged dubiousness of his relationship with those furtive entrepreneurs, Messrs Brockway and Moore. In his efforts, Wood appealed directly to three successive occupants of the White House, Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Cleveland.[49] One of them, Rutherford B. Hayes, was persuaded. On 18 March 1880, he wrote his secretary of the treasury:

> My decided impression after a careful perusal of the accompanying report of Judge [Albert Gallatin] Porter, is that Col. Wood is justly entitled to be paid the reward referred to therein. I therefore hand it to you for such further action as may be deemed proper.[50]

Nothing ensued.

But the claimant persisted. Over the period 1890–1899 the Colonel's exertions carried him right back up to the government firing line. Six bills requesting ten thousand dollars "for the relief of William P. Wood for services rendered the Treasury Department"—some of them going into elaborate detail—were introduced before the House of Representatives.[51] Between 1895 and 1903 three bills tracked the same course in the Senate, the last appearing just five weeks prior to the claimant's death.[52] None of this legislation bore fruit.

Over the years Wood attempted to wrest an income as a patent attorney, though apparently he had no legal training. More comfortable must have been his role as "Advisory Counsellor" giving "Prompt Attention . . . to Business Before the Courts, Departments, and District Commissioners"[53]—a form of lobbying. Presumably he derived some income from his newspaper columns during the 1880s in Washington weeklies, *Sunday Gazette* and *National Free Press*. For a time he ran a wood-working mill that he hoped to turn into a major factory, but the hard times following 1876 did it in. He had his Mexican War pension—all eight dollars a month of it.[54] Despite all this, by 1893 the Colonel was bankrupt. His wife, Harriet, died in 1899, and as of mid-1902 he was still unable to pay her funeral expenses.[55]

Probably unbeknownst to him, irony had been added to this situation back in 1877. In that year the current chief of the Secret Service, James J. Brooks, responded to a Treasury Department directive for an administrative survey of his unit. On the very first page of the report, Brooks admitted that he could produce none of the orders originally organizing the Secret Service, whose beginnings had cost Wood so much sweat and ardor. This oddity would certainly have amused its first chief—and besides, Wood had small use for Brooks.[56]

In sum, here is a textbook example of the ensnarling frustrations that so often accompany encounters with an entrenched bureaucracy by a lone individual lacking wide or influential support. But if Wood's services to government never received fitting compensation—if a clique of faceless officials denied him due credit—others remembered him with respect and admiration. When Bright's Disease at

length carried him off, both leading Washington papers carried elaborate notices, as did those in New York and the Baltimore *Sun* and *News* ("Famous Detective Dead"). Far and wide people remembered him, each for a particular reason. One such person was Captain Thomas N. Conrad, a former Confederate army chaplain and spy with whom the Colonel had crossed swords (and with whom he may have spun out a double-agent operation). "During my life-time," Conrad asserted,

> I have met many men high and low, rich and poor, soldier and citizen, but I never met more than one Colonel Wood. Though a professed infidel, he practiced the highest virtues of the Christian. Though rough in his manner and often profane in his utterance, his love for his fellow-man knew no bounds. With noble impulses, generous nature and deep convictions, he never submitted to a wrong himself without resistance and never inflicted one on another. I learned to love him as a father and would to-day divide the last crust with him, if living, or with any of his children for his sake.[57]

Notes

1. The renegade Union naval officer, S. Wilde Hardinge, husband to the Virginian spy, Belle Boyd. See Curtis Carroll Davis, "The Pet of the Confederacy' Still? Fresh Findings about Belle Boyd," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 78 (1983): 46. Title quotation in present article from William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York and London: Putnam's, 1915), pp. 104–105.

2. See Curtis Carroll Davis, "The 'Old Capitol' and Its Keeper: How William P. Wood Ran a Civil War Prison," Columbia Historical Society *Records* (forthcoming).

3. This article draws heavily on materials in the archives of the United States Secret Service (hereafter SSA), Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, which include twelve personal scrapbooks of Wood's articles in the scarce Washington, D.C., weeklies, *Sunday Gazette* and *National Free Press,* of April 1883–February 1887 and July 1887–April 1888. For supplying reproductions I am much indebted to Mrs. Dorothy Jacobsen, Historian, Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Secret Service, Washington, D.C.

4. Pension File SC 7962, National Archives, including affidavits by Wood's friends Samuel McCurdy and John P. Hamlin, both 9 June 1887, and citing *Descriptive and Historical Register of Enlisted Soldiers of the Army . . . during the War with Mexico . . . ,* vol. 46, p. 257, entry #39. His certificate of service, stating an honorable discharge from Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, 31 July 1848, is in possession of great-grandson, Marshall K. Wood, of Castine, Maine.

5. *Sunday Gazette,* 16 December 1883, and 14 July 1884. The facts of Wood's wounds and mountain climbing emerge in "Death of William P. Wood," New York *Sun,* 21 March 1903, at which newspaper Wood's first-born, Samuel Americus Wood, had made a name for himself as a ship-news reporter.

6. *Sunday Gazette,* 12 October 1884.

7. Washington, D.C., *Evening Star,* 21 March 1903.

8. Obituary, Washington, D.C., *Post,* 21 March 1903, and *Sunday Gazette,* 23 January 1887. Wood's birthplace, Alexandria, Va., was not occupied by federal troops until 24 May 1861.

9. See Stanton's first biographer, Frank A. Flower, to Salem G. Pattison, Washington, D.C., 27 May 1903, in Flower Correspondence filed with *McCormick* v. *Manny* case, McCormick Historical Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

10. *Sunday Gazette,* 16 January 1887.

11. Reminscence of Samuel Americus Wood in W. A. Davenport, "Lincoln's Kiss . . . ," *Editor & Publisher,* 55 (14 October 1922): 1. The episode supposedly occurred at Old Capitol Prison during Wood's tenure as superintendent, but the presidential visit is not recorded in Earl S. Miers, ed., *Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1809–1865* (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960).

12. See Curtis Carroll Davis, "A Tale of Two Virginians; or, Neighborhood Politics in the Early Lincoln Administration," *Manuscripts* (forthcoming).

13. Watson to Wood, 26 March 1863, SSA. Wood had put in his request the day before.

14. Stanton until his death remained a hero to Wood, whose formal resignation from his war-time post closed by assuring Stanton that "at any time during my life you can command me." Wood to Stanton, 6 July 1865, SSA.

15. *Sunday Gazette,* 14 December 1884. See also Curtis Carroll Davis, "In Pursuit of Booth Once More: A New Claimant Heard From," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 79 (1984): 220.

16. *Sunday Gazette,* 10 August 1884. The arrest was of John Devlin.

17. Wood to Col. William G. Moore, 11 March 1868, in Andrew Johnson Papers, Series 1, p. 5, Library of Congress (hereinafter LC). Moore was Johnson's private secretary, and Wood's letter was triggered by an article in the 7 March 1868 *Evening Star,* possibly that captioned "Settlement of Paymasters' Accounts."

18. Wood to Francis Thomas, 5 April 1869, SSA, prompted by the case of Theodore P. Agnew. Wood later placed Thomas among those "worn-out political hacks" comfortably tucked into government posts during the Civil War, in private character "noted for his jealous, cruel and vindictive spirit . . . " (*Sunday Gazette,* 21 December 1884). Agnew is described as "Chief Clerk of Capt. A. V. Barringer, A.Q.M., charged with defrauding the Government." See L. C. Turner, judge advocate, to Stanton, 3 November 1865, SSA.

19. *Sunday Gazette,* 10 August 1884.

20. Ibid.

21. *Sunday Gazette,* 4 September 1884. Wood recalled that "Abraham Lincoln often counseled with me in person relative to the rascalities that were then going on in the very darkest days of the civil war" (Ibid., 10 August 1884). "After long hesitation, Secretary of the Treasury Chase acquiesced," remembered the first registrar of the treasury, "and the first internal revenue act of 1862 was framed upon the theory that the taxpayers were the natural enemies of the government" (Leslie E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1891], p. 345).

22. *National Free Press,* 11 March, 1888.

23. Ibid., 4 March, 1888. See Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana to Wood, 6 October 1864 and Dana to Wood, 21 April 1865, both in SSA. As editor of the New York *Sun* Dana in 1880 out of friendship gave Wood's son Sam a job on that paper; Wood's references to Dana in his own Washington columns were steadily approbatory (*Sunday Gazette,* 10 August and 23 September 1883, 17 August and 7 December 1884).

24. Wood's report to Edward Jordan, Solicitor's Office, Treasury Department, 20 July, 1865, SSA.

25. See Walter S. Bowen and Harry Edward Neal, *The United States Secret Service* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Co. [1960]), pp. 27–28 (the authors were former officers of the service) and also Neal, *The Story of the Secret Service* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971), p. 16.

26. Wood to Jordan and Jordan to Wood, both 8 June, 1866, SSA.

27. Bowen and Neal, *Secret Service,* p. 17.

28. Office of Chief [James J. Brooks], Secret Service, to Messrs McCormick, Rayner, and Raum, 17 September 1877, SSA.

29. *Circular of Instructions to Operatives, Secret Service Division, Treasury Department. Prepared by W. P. Wood, Chief of Division. Approved by Hon E. Jordan, Solicitor of the Treasury* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868). Not listed in Bowen and Neal, *Secret Service.*

30. *Sunday Gazette,* 16 November 1884.

31. Ibid., 31 August 1884.

32. "Statement of Charles Ulrich," Grand Jury Room, U.S. Court Building, New York City, 22 March 1867, SSA.

33. *Sunday Gazette,* 18 March 1888.

34. Sworn statement, H. A. Risley, former assistant solicitor of the Treasury Department, 11 December 1879 (5 pp. foolscap typescript), SSA.

35. Wood to Grover Cleveland, Sept. 25, 1885 (5½ pp. foolscap, with typed transcript), SSA. See also *Sunday Gazette,* 13 May 1883.

36. Wood, "Memorandum in Relation to Services, Connected with the Spurious $1,000 Bonds" (Washington, n.d.), 5 pp. typescript. See also *United States Statutes at Large,* 15: 173.

37. Bowen and Neal, *United States Secret Service,* p. 22.

38. This and subsequent quotations derive from Wood, *Sunday Gazette,* 6 May 1883. On Brockway's early career Wood cites Waterman L. Ormsby, *A Description of the Present System of Bank Note Engraving, Showing Its Tendency To Facilitate Counterfeiting . . .* (New York, 1852), pp. 57–61. Ormsby asserts that Brockway's notes were "probably the most ingenious counterfeits ever issued," and quotes a lengthy article on him in the New York *Journal of Commerce,* 5 November 1849. Ormsby's scarce title may be requested from Arkansas Technical University, Russellville.

39. Identified as "the Lanctons (father and son) plate printers," in Wood, "Criticism upon the Report of the Comptroller [A. G.] Porter in Relation to Certain Points in Connection with His Report in Relation to Spurious Issues," with covering letter from Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman to Samuel J. Randall, Speaker of the House of Representatives, 30 May 1880, SSA. Wood named the culprits as Eli Lanckton (*sic*) and son Edwin in his *An Exposure of the Methods of Getting Up Spurious Issues of Bonds and Currency of the United States* (Washington, D.C., c. 1898), p. 10. This pamphlet—copies available for two two-cent stamps sent to Wood's home address—carried the subtitle, "Some Reminiscences of the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department," but is just a sketchy personal resumé from the 1860s on.

40. Statements on the woman, "special quarters," and "spicy" interviews derive from Wood, *Exposure,* pp. 10–11, which placed the episode "during the later part of 1869"—doubtless a slip of memory.

41. Statement of H. A. Risley, SSA.

42. Assistant Secretary (signature illegible), Secret Service Division, to Shelby McCullom, 27 March 1902, SSA.

43. Adams to Secretary of the Treasury, 11 July 1882, ibid.

44. Sworn statements of Brockway and Smith, 8 and 13 January 1881, ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Emily E. Briggs, *The Olivia Letters: Being Some History of Washington City for Forty Years As Told by the Letters of a Newspaper Correspondent* (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Co., 1906), p. 69.

47. Wood to Boutwell, 4 May 1869, SSA.

48. Wood is not mentioned in Whitley's memoirs, *In It* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside

Press, 1894), nor is his name to be found in two titles that laud Whitley: George P. Burnham, *Memoirs of the United States Secret Service . . . and a Brief Account of the Life of Col. H. C. Whitley, Chief of The Division* (Boston: Kee & Shepard, 1872), and Burnham, *Three Years with Counterfeiters, Smuglers* [*sic*], *and Boodle Carriers* . . . (Boston: J. P. Dale & Co., [1875]), with a frontispiece of Whitley. Both items read like dime novels.

49. Wood to Grant, 28 June 1869, SSA File #2962: William P. Wood, 1865–1869; Wood to Hayes, 4 December 1878, ibid. (also printed in *Sunday Gazette,* 13 May 1883; Wood to Cleveland, 25 September 1885, ibid.

50. Hayes to John Sherman, 18 March 1880 (presumably in Hayes's hand but marked "copy"), SSA. In a different connection Wood had written Hayes in 1879: "Mr. President I am not, and never have been a Democrat—and should be slow in creating dissentions in the State of Maryland, where I have so many devoted personal and political friends, and where it is possible to redeem the State from its present *ring*—misrule—I shall continue to exercise special concern in all that tends to interest Maryland, and this position of mine is so well known to Maryland politicians, that I am frequently called upon to participate in their political communions" (Wood to Hayes, 10 April 1879, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio).

51. HR #7863, 6 March 1890, and HR #1259, 5 April 1890 (51st Congress); HR #662, 6 September 1893 (53rd Congress); HR #1509, 12 December 1895 (54th Congress); HR #7149, 24 January 1898 (55th Congress); and HR #1194, 5 December 1899 (56th Congress).

52. S #777, 12 December 1895 (54th Congress); S #4559, 3 May 1900 (56th Congress); and S #[unlisted], 13 February 1903 (57th Congress).

53. From one of Wood's scrapbooks, SSA.

54. Wood to A. H. Thompson, Special Officer, Pension Office, 28 August 1902, SSA.

55. Wood, General Affidavit, Washington, notarized 9 August 1902, with Pension Office stamp dated 18 August 1902, SSA. Wood, his wife, and some of their children are interred in Range 65, Sites 245–250, Congressional Cemetery (southeast), Washington, D.C.

56. See n. 28 above. A native of Birmingham, England, Brooks to Wood was an "imported tramp, who is pensioned on the Treasury, together with a large squad of his relatives" (*Sunday Gazette,* 2 September 1883), "is not possessed of a single qualification for the duties of his position" (ibid., 24 February 1884), and *inter alia* was in cahoots with such counterfeiters as Brockway, Smith, and Ulrich (ibid., 31 August 1884).

57. Thomas N. Conrad, *A Confederate Spy: A Story of the Civil War* (New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 1892), p. 97. An equally cordial appraisal appeared in Conrad's *The Rebel Scout* . . . (Washington, D.C.: National Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 27–29, a reworking of *Confederate Spy*. Two documents from Wood's tenure at Old Capitol Prison list Conrad as having "at different times," received $175 "for services rendered." See Wood to Judge Advocate General Levi C. Turner, 13 October 1865, and Turner to Stanton, 7 November 1865, SSA.

Recollections of Lefty Grove, Part II

RUTH BEAR LEVY

In January 1925 the Baltimore *Sun* reported that Walter Damrosch would conduct the New York Symphony Orchestra at the Lyric. Dorothea Dix's Column advised, "When in Doubt Stay Single." The auto show, in full swing at the Fifth Regiment Armory, featured such elegant automobiles as the Chandler, Davis, Franklin, Maxwell, Peerless, and Pierce-Arrow.

In Philadelphia Jack Dunn and a man named Cornelius McGillicuddy had been deciding Lefty Grove's future. Someone earlier had said that McGillicuddy's name was too long to fit into the box scores of the sports pages, so it was shortened to Connie Mack. Mack, the well-known manager of the Philadelphia Athletics, had just bid a near-record $100,000 for Lefty Grove.

Dunn and Mack finally agreed upon a purchase price of $100,600. Lefty claimed that the $100,000 was for his pitching and the additional $600 was for his hitting. Actually it was Jack Dunn who suggested that Mack throw in an extra $600. "Connie, let's make it a little more than a hundred thousand; it'll be a record price," Dunn proposed, "more than the Yankees gave the Red Sox for Babe Ruth. Let's make it baseball's biggest deal."[1]

Mack was willing to pay big bucks for Lefty (although he had to pay it in installments) because he had seen Lefty whitewash his team 5–0 in an exhibition game. He had witnessed Lefty strike out 13 of his batters and he knew this was a typical performance for Lefty. But Lefty's pitching debut with the Philadelphia Athletics was a debacle. In front of a curious crowd of 20,000 in Shibe Park, Philadelphia, Lefty alternated between walking the batter and giving up hits. He was unable to strike anyone out and in less than four innings the opponents had scored five runs on Lefty. Things improved for him over the course of the season, although not so much as to reflect his true promise as a pitcher. By the end of his first season with the A's he had the distinction of having both the worst and best statistics in the league. In the 1925 season in which he won 10 games and lost 12, he led the American League in walks by allowing 131 bases on balls and also in strikes with a grand total of 116 strikeouts. This was the only season in his entire career in which he finished with a won-lost percentage below .500. It was also the only time in his major league career that he pitched a greater number of walks than strikeouts. Despite his rocky start with the A's, he was off to a remarkable career. 1925 was the first year of a seven-season streak in which he dominated the league in strikeouts.

Lefty still had not solved his problem of pitching control. No one in the league

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Mrs. Levy and Lefty Grove shared childhood experiences in Lonaconing, Maryland; part one of her personal account appeared in last summer's issue of the magazine.

could throw more strikes than he but no one was throwing as many balls. By this time Lefty's lack of control was due primarily to his impatience. In "throwing 'em hard," as Dunn had advised, Lefty was not taking the time to concentrate on his aim.

Mack's approach to Lefty's wildness was different from Dunn's. At Mack's urging Lefty's catcher, Cy Perkins, tried to get Lefty to take his time. He suggested that Lefty step off the mound when he caught the ball and just stand there plunking it easily into his glove a few times before stepping back for the pitch. Connie suggested he count to ten before pitching. Word got around about this and soon everyone in the grandstands, and even people perched on nearby rooftops, chanted 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10 during the wind-up (I have heard that Lefty denied ever counting to ten himself). Then the hard fast ball would fly across the plate to strike out the likes of Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig.

Tommy Thomas, an Oriole teammate, remembered that 1927 was the season of transformation for Lefty. Once he learned to pause prior to firing, Lefty's pitching dramatically improved. However, he would occasionally need slowing down when he was all hot and bothered by the competition. His teammate, third baseman Jimmy Dykes, had a trick for getting him to do it. "When I saw that Lefty's temper was rising and his blood pressure going up I'd go close to the mound (not too close) and hold the ball in my glove. Lefty would be tense, his eyes narrow. 'Gimme the damn ball,' he would say. But the delay would steady him."[2] Later on in their careers Lefty's pitching precision helped Dykes out. In a game with the St. Louis Browns, Dykes approached the mound as Lefty faced the last batter. Instead of withholding the ball until Lefty calmed down, he implored Lefty to pitch the ball so it would be hit to Foxx at first base and not to him. Dykes had had a bad night and needed a break.

Gradually Lefty Grove's greatness became the big topic in baseball news. In 1928 Lefty won twenty-four games. The next year he won twenty and the Athletics won the pennant. He won twenty-eight in 1930 and thirty-one in 1931 and the Athletics won pennants in both years. He had illustrious days like one in Philadelphia when he threw his fast ball at the Yankees' "Murderers Row" and struck out Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig and Bob Meusel all in the same inning. Bill Dickey, the A's catcher, remembered the time Lefty came in with the bases loaded and no outs. Mack had signalled the pitcher off the mound and all heads looked toward the bullpen to see which relief pitcher would be coming in. But out from the dugout came Lefty. After briefly warming up he proceeded to strike out Ruth, Gehrig, and Tony Lazzeri in ten pitches. "The last three he threw to me," Dickey sighed, "I haven't seen any of them yet."[3]

That fast ball. Everyone who played against Lefty or saw him commented on it. Jimmy Dykes remembered that the Libbey-Owens Company, to test an "unbreakable" glass, had wanted to use Lefty in an advertising campaign boasting that their glass could withstand even the impact of a good pitch. Lefty's fast ball shattered the glass, whereupon the glass people readied another piece. "Now take it easy," they warned. "Don't throw quite so hard." Lefty cooled down his pitch but the glass still broke into a million pieces.[4]

At the 1933 All-Star game in Comiskey Park, Chicago, Lefty, pitching for the

American league, took a 4–2 lead into the ninth inning. With two men out, Tonny Cuccinello pinch hit for Carl Hubbell. Lefty threw three fast balls and the game was over. Afterward, Cuccinello couldn't get over Lefty's speed. "Aspirin tablets," he muttered, shaking his head (and referring to a pitched ball too "small" to see). "I've hit against Dazzy Vance and Van Mungo and I thought they were pretty swift, but I never saw anything like that Grove!"[5]

Paul Richards, who played with the Athletics and other teams before he became manager for the Chicago White Sox and Baltimore Orioles, recalled, "I never hit Lefty in his heyday, but I did see him pitch. He was terrifically fast. You know, a left-hander's ball has a tendency to tail a little bit, but Grove threw it so hard it didn't tail—it didn't have time. it was on top of you before you knew it. Lefty had the type of fastball they tell me Satchel Paige had. You thought it was waist high when you swung at it, but it was actually letter-high" (as high as the letters on the uniform). "It was four or five inches higher than you thought it was, which made the players think it was jumping, but it wasn't jumping. It came so fast it created an illusion."[6] Friends of mine remember hearing Graham McNamee, the renowned radio announcer of the era, describe Lefty's pitching in a World Series game. McNamee reported the play-by-play action for several innings until, at a loss for more words, he said simply, "Well, they can't hit 'em if they can't see 'em."[7]

One of the greatest victories of Lefty's Athletics years was snatched from the jaws of what, until the seventh inning, looked like certain defeat. The Cubs and A's were playing a World Series game in Shibe Park in 1929, just a few days before the Stock Market crash. Though the Athletics led the series, the Cubs seemed about to tie it at 2–2. In fact, Mack, thinking the game lost, had sent some of the regular players to the clubhouse and had intended to let the younger ones get a little experience. In the seventh inning, having overwhelmed three Athletics pitchers (Jack Quinn, Rube Walberg and Ed Rommel), the Cubs were leading 8–0. Charlie Root, the Cub right hander, had held the A's to three singles and no runs, until Al Simmons finally hit a homer at the bottom of the seventh inning. The next three batters—Jimmie Foxx, Bing Miller, and Jimmy Dykes—each hit singles and Foxx eventually scored. By the time Joe Boley, not a particularly impressive batter, was up, Root appeared to be shaken. "I think the big fellow out there is losing his stuff," Mack told Boley. "If the first ball comes anywhere near the plate, I want you to swing at it." Indeed Boley did just that, driving Miller home and getting himself to first base. Max Bishop brought Dykes in and the score stood at 8–4 when Root was finally replaced by left-hander Art Nehf. But the A's were on a roll and Mule Haas, the first batter Nehf faced, was not to be stopped. He drove the ball into center field where Hack Wilson misjudged it. Boley, Bishop, and Haas rushed home to bring the A's within one run of tying the Cubs.

Philadelphia fans went wild. They cheered and hooted and stomped in the stands and were on edge for what would come next. The players were so excited that Jimmy Dykes slapped Connie Mack hard on the back, knocking him off the bench and into a bunch of bats on the dugout floor. "Oh, I am so sorry, Mr. Mack," Jimmy profusely apologized. "It's all right, Jimmy, perfectly all right," said Mack, "especially on an occasion like this one." The tying run soon followed despite another change of Cub pitchers. However, the Athletics' momentum was

not to be harnessed. After still another pitching substitution still more runs were scored. The A's fans were hysterical. Some of the players had lost track of the score. By the time the inning was over the Athletics had scored ten runs.

Mack may have been bewildered by the explosion of firepower and luck that allowed the A's to take over the game, but he knew whom to choose as the next pitcher. He sent Lefty in to maintain the tenuous A's lead. (I wonder why he had not done so sooner. Mack had intended to use his left hand pitchers only in relief because he thought the predominantly right-handed Cub batters would tear them up. But throughout the first seven innings the Cubs did so anyway.) Lefty finished up the game, allowing no runs. Of the six Cubs who faced him in the eighth and ninth innings, he struck out four. The final score: A's 10, Cubs 8.[8]

There were bad days, however. Once when Connie sent word to pull Grove out of the game, Lefty threw down his glove in disgust and then located Connie. With fire in his eyes he got as close as possible to Connie. "Nuts!" he shouted. "And nuts to you, too!" Connie bellowed back.[9] On another occasion, having failed the A's, Lefty left the ball park in a rage, got into his fancy Pierce-Arrow, and drove all the way home to Lonaconing. He stayed in the shelter of the mountains moping and fishing in the streams for five days before returning to Philadelphia. One day in the bottom of the eighth with the A's ahead, the Yankees got a base hit. Lefty threw a bad pitch to Babe Ruth, who drove it for a home run. At first the fans booed Lefty and yelled at him. Then they laughed, laughed, laughed. It must have been one of those days of calamity for Lefty.

Following yet another mortifying loss, Grove sat in the locker room, muttering to himself. Quiet, polite, proper, old-fashioned Connie Mack, who almost never lost his temper and never swore, sidled up to him and began, "Robert . . ." (Mack always called Lefty "Robert" whether he was praising or correcting him). Lefty, in no humor for a suggestion or sermon from anyone, turned on his boss and gave him an earful of advice concerning a private, physical function. "Oh, go take a. . . ."[10] You have to picture Connie Mack to appreciate how impertinent Lefty was. "The beloved Connie Mack," as baseball writer Fred Lieb called him, "the venerable one, truly a great manager and a lovely person. . . ." The old fellow with his stiff white collars of the 1900s. Connie Mack—who, Lefty himself said "is like a father to every one." Connie's temper flared. He turned on Lefty. Beginning with "Robert," as usual, he gave him the same advice in return and in the very same street language that Lefty had used. The rest of the team was too stunned to laugh aloud.[11]

Although Lefty learned to calm down and control his pitching, he could never do the same with his anger over losing a game. In a rage Lefty did not discriminate among his victims. From Connie Mack to innocent fans—all were casualties of his fury. He was especially sensitive to press inquiries and admirers' questions. According to one observer he was "just plain ornery."[12] Reporters criticized him for not sharing his thoughts and comments with them. They were particularly critical of his outbursts against teammates when, for one reason or another, they were unable to back up his pitching. They noted his frequent unfriendliness.

One young reporter, with visions of job preferment following an article on a baseball idol like Lefty, wanted to write about Grove. With this goal in mind he

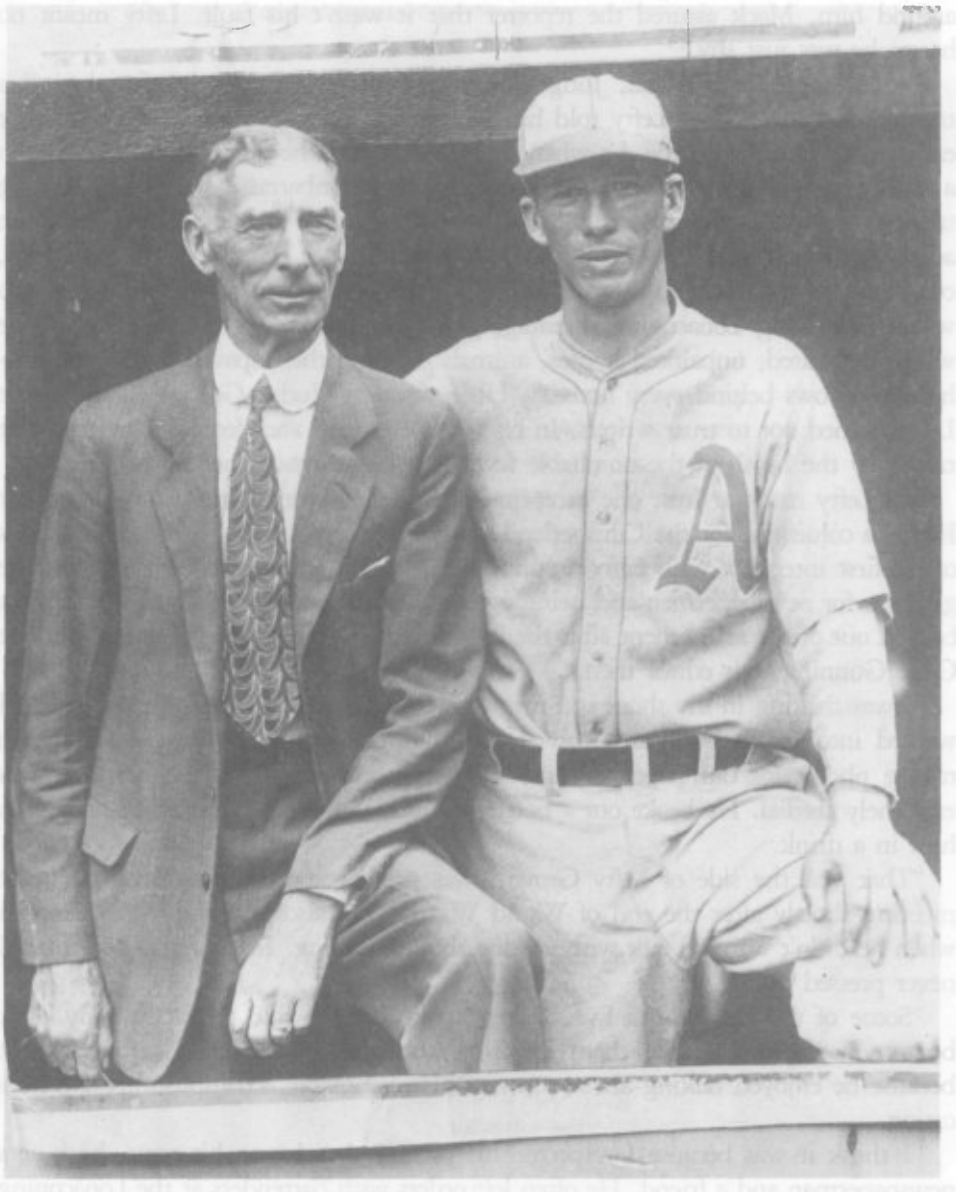

FIGURE 1. Connie Mack, left, and Lefty Grove, c. 1930. Too staid to wear a uniform for most of his managing career, Mack had to send emissaries to the mound when it came time to pull a pitcher. (Newsphoto from the author's collection)

was "hobnobbing" with people in a crowded, hotel lobby. There were lots of ball players, fans, and newspapermen around. In a far off corner he spied a long-legged man slouched down in a big chair, none other than Lefty Grove. Lefty puffed on a big black cigar and seemed remote from the surrounding scene. The reporter dashed across the lobby, full of hope and enthusiasm, hand extended and a wide open smile. Spying him, Lefty jumped up and sprinted away. The young fellow blamed himself for muffing his big chance. Across the lobby, Connie Mack had watched the entire scene. He walked over to the young man and put his arm

around him. Mack assured the reporter that it wasn't his fault. Lefty meant no harm; he was just shy.[13]

Lefty's home-town friend, Judge James S. Getty, once asked Lefty about his troubles with the press. Lefty told him it resulted from an unfortunate experience early in his career with the A's when a writer to whom he granted an interview on a train wrote an article that was both inaccurate and embarrassing. Lefty had a long talk with Mack, who advised him to avoid unknown writers. "Lefty took the advice so much to heart," said the judge, "that after that he seldom, if ever, consented to any in-depth interviews." The judge also remembered a Boston sports writer describing Lonaconing disparagingly as "a backwoods coal-mining village with dilapidated, unpainted houses, animals roaming the unpaved streets and outhouses in rows behind every house." "Little wonder," Judge Getty went on, "that Lefty learned not to trust writers. In his mind even fine and dedicated writers were tarred by the brush of the unreliable few; Lefty never made the distinction."[14]

Yet Lefty made at least one exception to his rule never to trust reporters. Suter Kegg, a columnist for the Cumberland *Evening Times,* shared with me recollections of his first interview with Lefty around 1945. "I had read about how difficult the guy was for newspapermen and being a young sports reporter at the time, I almost backed out of the assignment after the interview had been set up for me by the late Gene Gunning, our editor then.

"I was shaking in my shoes and my voice may even have been quivering when I walked into the Republican Club at Lonaconing, along with Leo Leasure, then taking photos for our paper. To my delightful surprise, the great portsider was extremely cordial. He broke out a bottle of Canadian whiskey and asked us to join him in a drink.

"That was the side of Lefty Grove I was privileged to know. Since that first meeting shortly after the end of World War II, I've also seen the man in moods when he didn't want to talk with anyone about anything. In situations like that, I never pressed him.

"Some of the best stories I've written about him he told me voluntarily. Not because he wanted to see them in print (the man shrank from publicity) but because he enjoyed talking about some of his memorable accomplishments on occasion.

"I think it was because I respected his privacy that I won his trust, both as a newspaperman and a friend. He often left orders with bartenders at the Lonaconing Republican Club to tell out-of-town writers who tried to contact him by telephone that he wasn't there. I never had that trouble although I didn't always get the information from him that I wanted. To me, that wasn't upsetting. There was always another day and invariably, one way or another, the information I had sought eventually came out."[15]

Fortunately Lefty's pitching was often story enough for reporters. Lefty's playing dominated the headlines in 1931. Although it was his greatest season, he also endured his greatest disappointment. He had a sixteen-game winning streak and expected to chalk up a seventeenth in a game with the St. Louis Browns, which seemed in the bag. There was no comparison between the Browns and the A's. Yet the Browns won, 1 to 0. A young rookie, Jim Moore, misjudged a fly ball and

allowed the winning run to score. Lefty was not as mad at the young rookie as he was at the regular fielder, Al Simmons, for not having been on the field. Simmons was in Milwaukee that day. "If Simmons had been here and in left field," Lefty said, "he would have caught that ball in his back pocket."

Disappointed and enraged, Lefty after the game kicked the clubhouse door panel to pieces and broke up the water pails. Then he ripped off his uniform popping buttons all over the place. Finally, he knocked over the lockers. "It still makes me mad when I think of it," he said later. "After I lost that game, I came back and won six or seven in a row. I would have had about twenty-four straight wins except for that 1–0 loss."

Lefty was still thinking about it when a reporter interviewed him in Cooperstown one day in 1974, the year before he died. Lefty often went to Cooperstown to recall his past victories and to chum around with old baseball friends. He was sitting comfortably in a rocking chair on the porch of a hotel. The newsman, who had been searching out famous old timers in town, asked, "Mr. Grove, what about the end of that sixteen-game winning streak forty-three years ago?"

Lefty stirred uneasily. "That was Simmons' fault," he replied.

"Oh, did Simmons make an error on the play, Mr. Grove?"

"No, Simmons wasn't even there. He went to Milwaukee."

The old irritation welled up in Lefty as he recited the story. "And I told Simmons about it later, too, I did," he said. "So now I'm tied with Joe Wood and Walter Johnson and Schoolboy Rowe at sixeen straight for the American League Record. But I would have had twenty-four if Simmons had been out there where he belonged."[16]

In 1931 Lefty participated in a baseball trip to Japan organized by ex-player Herb Hunter. One of the greatest teams of all time, Hunter's all-stars included Lou Gehrig, Frank Frisch, "Rabbit" Maranville, Mickey Cochrane, George Kelly, Al Simmons, Lefty O'Doul, Willie Kamm, Muddy Ruel, Larry French, Tom Oliver, Bruce Cunningham, Ralph Shinners—and Robert "Lefty" Grove. The Japanese felt a rapport with Maranville, who stood a little over five feet four inches tall. Otherwise, the American players towered over the Japanese in every way. Professional baseball had not appeared in Japan, though the game was already the Japanese national sport and Japanese kids played ball everywhere, just as in the United States. Collegiate teams had to be rounded up to play the American team. Still, the Japanese needed no handicap. One little 140-pounder pitched a ball that broke two of Lou Gehrig's fingers and put him out for most of the trip.

From his first pitch in Japan, Lefty was spectacular. The Japanese wanted him to pitch all the time, even when it wasn't his turn. "G'vove, G'vove, G'vove!" they would shout. They were so insistent that many times management gave in and let Lefty pitch while his fans relaxed in hero worship. He was so swamped with demands for autographs that he had to have a rubber stamp made. At a party for the team sponsored by the American embassy and Japanese prime minister, Lefty received an oversized baseball mitt. In its center were knitted the crossed flags of Japan and the United States (some days after Pearl Harbor was attacked, according to Lefty's close friend, Suter Kegg, Lefty took a penknife and scratched the Japanese flag out).

Later in 1931 Lefty received a silver cup as the American League's most valuable player. That year he reached his peak of thirty-one wins and four losses and received his highest salary, $28,000. By modern standards this is not the salary one would expect for an athlete at the pinnacle of his career. Neither did he make much money from endorsements. Once he posed for an ad for Granger Pipe Tobacco. They dressed him in hunting garb with a shotgun, an English setter, and a pipe in his mouth. He was paid $750 and given the hunting outfit, gun, and dog.

In 1932 attendance at baseball games declined as the Depression worsened. The great Philadelphia team was broken up to bring in much needed revenue. Cochrane went to Detroit. Simmons, Dykes, Haas, and Earnshaw were sold to the Chicago White Sox. Foxx and Grove left for the Boston Red Sox after the 1933 season.The A's won no more pennants. The stingy and foolish Mack pocketed some quick cash by selling Lefty to the Red Sox.

In May 1936 *Newsweek* reported that Thomas Yawkey, "a young millionaire" who had bought the Red Sox and "longed for a championship," had paid Connie Mack $125,000 for a man who in his first year was dubbed "Yawkee's Folly." Lefty injured his arm in spring training then developed three abscessed teeth and infected tonsils. His pitches were hit out of the lot. In 1934, his first year with the Red Sox, Grove won eight games and lost eight. It was the first time in eight years that he failed to win 20 games. Disappointed and dejected, he sulked. Boston thought it had bought a great pitcher but seemed instead to have "bought a great grouch."[17] Manager Bucky Harris of the Red Sox remained compassionate, however, and did what he could to cheer up Lefty and persuade him to hang on.

By 1936 his health was restored and Lefty won seventeen games, lost twelve and again led the league with an earned run average (ERA) of 2.81. He was getting older, though. "Much of the zing has gone from Grove's famous fireball," *Newsweek* noted, but he had "developed a curve, control and knowledge of . . . batters' weaknesses" which helped to compensate for his loss of speed. "And he's become relaxed," *Newsweek* concluded.

In fact, Lefty had a curve ball before he came to Boston, using it when his arm was sore. But the fast balls had always been so great and successful that most of his wins had been with them. Then, wrote Tom Meany, Lefty "improved the good curve he already had to the point where it was almost a great curve." He started to use a "fork ball," too, "a pitch," Meany explained, "that doesn't rotate much, shudders like a knuckler as it nears the plate and usually lures the batter into swinging too soon."[18]

In the following four years he won seventeen, seventeen, fourteen, and fifteen games. His mood grew friendlier. Once he even consented to a radio interview. Accepting the invitation with unusual grace, he prepared some words to deliver to listeners. The opportunity never came. To Lefty's increasing irritation, the announcer talked on and on. Lefty had no dirt to kick and no place to slam his cap, but he had his old familiar combination of humor and temper available to hit back at the program planners. When he finally could get a word in he snapped at the

announcer, "What do you think I am—just a pitcher?" At one point Lefty even confessed to his earlier uneasiness with fans and press: "I was afraid of people."

But certain things never changed. Lefty still did not like it when his teammates made mistakes behind him. It did not matter who the teammate was. In one game Lefty had pitched a no-hitter for eight innings, as had the opposing pitcher. With two outs in the ninth, the opposing team got a runner to second base. The next batter hit a grounder directly to the shortstop, who happened to be player-manager Joe Cronin. Cronin muffed the play and the lead runner easily scored the winning run.

Cronin knew he was in for a Grove tirade and sought to avoid it by dashing into the clubhouse and barricading himself in the visiting manager's cubicle, locking the door behind him. Lefty was not far behind. After slamming his glove against his locker he stormed to Cronin's office. Undeterred by the locked door, he climbed up on a stool and started yelling through the transom. Lefty then proceeded to tell his manager what he thought of shortstops who could not bend down far enough to pick up a ground ball.[19]

Lefty was so imbued with a winning spirit that he often mercilessly chided his teammates. In 1936, when he had nine victories against one defeat after losing 4–2 to Chicago, Lefty charged into the Red Sox locker room saying, "Do you think Grove is going to throw his arm off for you hitless wonders?" His good friend and fellow Marylander, Jimmie Foxx stood up to him, looked him straight in the eye, and said, "Mose, we're doing the best we can for you, like everybody else. Now you'd better shut up." Lefty shut up. But the rebuke of his best friend disturbed him and he withdrew into himself. Refusing to ride with the players, he walked from Comiskey Park to the hotel by way of Michigan Boulevard, about five miles. Some fellows called it "the five mile fury."

One might think that Lefty had a lot of nerve criticizing his teammates' hitting when pitchers, in general, are not very skillful at bat. Yet occasionally he demonstrated that he knew a little about batting himself. Over the years Lefty hit a number of home runs. Fifteen to be exact, eleven for the Athletics and four for the Red Sox. One occurred on a day when he played against the A's, his old team. Mack ordered a standard pitch often used when the opposing pitcher was up at bat. Lefty walked to the batter's box, took one swing, connected, and the ball went into the wild blue yonder for a home run. Grinning from ear to ear, Lefty clomped around the bases. As he passed the A's dugout he shook his finger at Connie and laughingly shouted, "Mr. Mack, you shouldn't have done that."

Lefty's victories mounted up. Finally in July 1941 came the 300th win. "Grove Registers 300th as Red Sox Check Indians 10–6," the *New York Times* declared on the 25th. A photo showed Lefty being congratulated by his catcher, Johnny Peacock, and Jimmie Foxx in the Red Sox clubhouse. With Grove pitching the Red Sox had been behind by four runs. They tied the score and then Jimmie Foxx came along to hit a triple to put them ahead. They won 10–6 with Dom DiMaggio catching Lou Boudreau's fly ball in center field for the final out. Dom ran over and gave the precious 300th victory ball to Lefty, who is said to have run over to Jimmy Foxx and planted a big smacking kiss on him. The crowd rose to its feet

and poured out its love in cheers for a man who had worked so hard for this moment. After the game the police had to surround Lefty to protect him from his screaming fans. Not since the 1920s had a pitcher won 300 games. That night Lefty threw a big party for his teammates. "The next 300 won't be so tough," he told them.

Lefty long since had become a friend and favorite of Tom Yawkey. Often Grove would take time off to visit Tom at his game preserve in North Carolina where he could relax, shoot turkeys, go fishing and have long conversations with Tom. Five months after the 300th victory Lefty and Yawkey had a talk about retirement. Lefty was inclined to want to keep on pitching forever. Yawkey reasoned with him. "What's the use of forcing yourself to win a few more games?" he asked. Lefty answered sadly, "It's tough to take your shoes off."[20] Lefty also realized, however, that there had been changes in the baseball world. Reporters and photographers rushed past him these days, showering their attention on bright rookies like Ted Williams. Joe Cronin, Eddie Collins, and Connie Mack also talked over the matter of retirement with Lefty.

Finally, early on the fateful morning of 7 December 1941, when no one was around, Lefty went over to the Red Sox clubhouse. He gathered together all his personal belongings and left for Lonaconing. He declined Yawkey's offer to remain as a pitching coach for as long as he wanted to stay in baseball. Lefty explained that he found it increasingly difficult to remain in top physical condition, and he considered fitness an absolute necessity for success either as a player or coach. During his playing days he went to Hot Springs, Arkansas, three weeks before spring training in order to prepare for the coming season. His daily routine never had varied. Breakfast. Thirty-six holes of golf carrying the bag. A steak dinner and lights out at 10 P.M. If it rained he spent the time in the exercise room, usually on a rowing machine. "I knew it was time to go," he conceded. "You know how your ol' body feels. I just couldn't do it any more. . . ." Pointing to his once mighty left arm, he is quoted as saying in a Baltimore *Sun* interview, "The old boy just played out on me after twenty-one years, seventeen in the big leagues. Yes, sir." Bombs dropping on Pearl Harbor drowned out the news of Lefty's retirement.

In 1947 Lefty was inducted into the Cooperstown Baseball Hall of Fame. His career record was 300 wins and 140 losses, which for many years was the highest winning percentage in the Hall of Fame. (Today Lefty's career percentage of .680 is second, topped by that of Whitey Ford, who retired in 1967 with a winning rate of .690 and entered the Hall of Fame in 1974.) Lefty struck out 2,271 batters in seventeen seasons, in eight of which he won twenty or more games. His ERA led the American League nine times; Grove was the strikeout leader from 1925 to 1931. No pitcher since Lefty has exceeded this record. (Walter Johnson led the American League in strikeouts for eight years, 1912–1919 and Dazzy Vance led the National League from 1922 to 1928.)

On 8 June 1940, Boston baseball fans staged a dinner at the Copley Plaza Hotel in honor of Robert Moses (Lefty) Grove. "Being with a fellow like Tom Yawkey has changed Mosey," Jimmie Foxx explained. "Didn't Boston give him a huge

banquet and a silver service that cost $1,200 in 1939? And he put on a tuxedo, sat in the seat of honor and made a speech." The menu itself demonstrated how far Lefty had strayed from simple Lonaconing. The potatoes were "Delmonico," the peas "au beurre," and the soup "aux Soufflees"; for dessert there was "fresh strawberry bombe" and "Friandises."

Representing the press were the *Christian Science Monitor* and Boston *Globe.* Much of the old tension between Lefty and the media had faded away. Menu and program were in the shape of a baseball, seams and all. Signatures on it included Joe Cronin's, Dominic DiMaggio's, Jimmie Foxx's, Ted Williams' and, at the very center of the ball, that of Lefty Grove, "The Living Legend of Lonaconing."

A tribute printed inside the cover of the program began:

> It's not so much an epic we're honoring this evening; not altogether a man who learned how to throw a baseball, but altogether a man who learned how to live a life. Here's Americana at its truest and best, the small town boy who grew to national fame, but who still calls the little town "home," and the chums of his boyhood, the friends of his maturity.

The program included a facsimile of a plaque presented to Lefty which read, in part,

> Your unchallengeable fame as one of baseball's greatest names will long live in the record books and the sports columns, but you will live, too, in the memories of the baseball fans of this nation as much for what you are as for what you've done.[21]

Lefty could be comfortable in retirement. Some of his teammates, including many better educated than he, had gambled in the stock market and were "out" of the money game after 1929. Lefty had socked his money away in securities such as government bonds. In Lonaconing he spent time tending the bowling alley and billiard parlor, Lefty's Place, which he had opened earlier. It was a few doors away from the Republican Club, which may explain how Lefty got involved in town politics. Although he spent six years as chief of police, his primary occupation was the pool hall. Here is how Raymond B. O'Rourke, a writer for the Cumberland *Evening Times,* described Lefty's Place:

> Immediately inside hangs a big autographed picture of Connie Mack. Connie is surrounded by autographed pictures of Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and the other greats of baseball. The autographs testify, "To my old pal, Lefty, the greatest of them all," "To my good friend Lefty, the greatest southpaw ever." Athletic and sporting trophies are on display. And of course, on the wall is a big baseball scoreboard. The townspeople drop in and out of "Lefty's Place" to check on the baseball scores and baseball news, and keep up with the local happenings. There are old fashioned showcases. Tempting candy, peanuts, chewing tobacco, and all kinds of odds and ends interest the visitor. The crack of the balls on the pool table, and the smashing sounds of the bowling pins, struck by the bowling ball, reverberate through the room. I can verify as to the quality and goodness of the ice cream, all colors, snuggled into large, tall cans in the "confectionery" department.[22]

Lefty also gave a lot of time and money to encouraging the town's youthful baseball enthusiasts. He coached cub teams and ran contests to foster interest in them. One contest was to decide the best pitcher in the Little League. Lefty

FIGURE 2. Grove enjoying retirement. Generous in support of youth baseball after returning to Lonaconing, Lefty stood so tall in the eyes of youngsters that one boy said he gave up the game after disappointing the old-timer. (From the author's collection)

awarded dozens of baseball mitts as prizes for the boys who won in the different categories. The contest stirred up enthusiasm among all the young players, who worked hard to meet Lefty's standards and prepare for the award.

A Lonaconing old-timer told me about his own experience of competing in one of Lefty's contests. "Lefty had some small boys' baseball clubs. He worked to show the boys how to play the game. We kids worked out real hard. I thought I was a pretty good baseball palyer. I thought maybe, under Lefty, I'd get somewhere in that game. Lefty ran contests to see who would come out the best at the end of the season. Well, I thought I was doing so well, that I drove a special nail in the wall to hang the prize mitt I'd receive." This time, however, Lefty's good intentions backfired. "But I didn't win," The old timer said. "This made me turn away from baseball. From that day to this I was finished with baseball."

O'Rouke of the Cumberland newspaper happened to be visiting Lefty one day when he began discussing the high price of quality equipment. "Caps, $2.65 apiece; base bags, five dollars, got 'em from Boston; the Louisville Sluggers are straight from Kentucky. Balls, $19.80 a dozen. Think prices haven't gone up? Last year a dozen cost only $18.00. Everything's big league," he said with a grin. It was typical of Lefty that only the best was good enough for the boys he coached."

Lefty had always been generous with his time where youngsters were concerned. One day back in 1941, for example, he addressed the student body of the School for the Deaf in Frederick. His subject was baseball. Lefty's address was conveyed to the boys in sign language by interpreters. There was rapt attention as he described the fine points of the game. He demonstrated his pitcher's stance, illustrating

graphically the position of his fingers and his arm in the delivery of his fast ball. Afterwards the boys swarmed out over the baseball field to practice Lefty's tips.[23]

In retirement Lefty talked a lot about his basball years. The game "is a lot different now," he told a Baltimore *Sun* reporter in 1961. "First, there's the platoon system. Managers think nothing of using seventeen or twenty men in a game. All we carried was twenty, and most of the time we didn't use more than a dozen. "Second, the gloves are different. Our gloves weren't basketball nets. The kind they use now, you can catch a watermelon in 'em." In comparing 1961 players to those of his day he said they were "about the same. They still hustle. But I don't see any Ty Cobbs or Tris Speakers or Babe Ruths." Lefty thought that Ty Cobb was tops, "He could beat a club all by himself if you got him mad." Evidently Lefty regarded temper as an asset, and maybe even a requirement, for a hard driven ball player.

Lefty stood up for his own record when someone talked about Cy Young's 511 victories. Lefty pointed out that in those days players played with the "dead ball" —and with scuffed and discolored ones. They'd didn't switch for new balls. It was hard to follow which way some of those old "dead balls" would go or how high or low they would fly. They were permitted to use tricky pitches, like "the shine ball," "the emery ball," and "the spitter."

He recalled that in the early 1920s when a ball was batted into the stands there would be a mad scramble for it. The usher would run to the spot and beg and cajole the possessor of the ball to return it. "You know," Lefty said, "by that time that ball had had it. They would only use two or three balls in a whole game. And they wanted that ball back on the field and in play. Now they use 50 or 60 balls in a game."

Displaying the intensity that he had always played with, the intensity that made him hard to get along with and unpopular sometimes, Lefty said, "If I had to do it all over, I'd do the same thing. If they said, 'Come on, here's a steak dinner,' and I had a chance to go out and play a game of ball, I'd go out and play the game and let the steak sit there. . . . If I owned a ball club, I'd want a ball club with guys as eager to win as I am. They don't have to be too educated, you understand. Sometimes I think the smart guys are too smart."[24]

The last time that I saw Lefty was in October 1970 at Memorial Stadium in Baltimore, where he threw out the first ball at the World Series game between the Orioles and the Cincinnati Reds. My son, Bob, and I were there. We looked over to the box along the third-base line where Lefty was surrounded by security guards. An adoring public tried to get closer to him but he was being guarded carefully. As this tall, gray-haired hero of baseball stood to pitch the ball, the crowd cheered loudly.

Somehow we worked our way toward Lefty. Others were trying to reach him, too. But we inched along and got close enough to identify ourselves by saying "Lonaconing!" Lefty immediately stood up, turned to us smiling broadly. He greeted us warmly saying, "Hiya, Ruth. Hiya, Bobby." Lefty's big hand enveloped mine, covering it completely. I do not remember who won that game. But I came home with cheers for Lefty ringing in my ears and with memories of the flags flying and the band playing for the man who had retired twenty nine years before —after making baseball history.

NOTES

I give my sincere thanks to those who shared their time and talents with me in the preparation of "Recollections of Lefty Grove." I could never have tackled this project without my family's encouragement and help. My son Bob drove me and participated in the interviews I conducted. He urged me to finish the Lefty story quickly so I could begin writing the next one. Ruth, my daughter (-in-law), was always supportive and honestly assessed whatever I had written. My granddaughter, Elizabeth, helped bear the burdens of pressing deadlines and provided professional advice. I am happy to be able to show my grandson, David, that the Lefty story is finally finished and is all the better for his copious note taking at interviews. Kathy and Chris extended support over the miles from Philadelphia.

Kimberly Gray was my right-hand "woman" on this project and an important source of support and friendship. Alphonse (Tommy) Thomas not only hosted a delicious luncheon when I interviewed him at his home, but he gave me the inside dope on Lefty's Oriole days. Suter Kegg bubbled over with baseball lore and "tall tales" about Lefty. Judge James S. Getty drove all the way to Baltimore from Cumberland and spent hours in my living room unravelling the real story of Lefty Grove. In addition, he typed up pages of personal memories and anecdotes about Lefty. Doris Grove Monnett and her husband, Edward, shared with me the hospitality of their home and fond memories about "Daddy."

I thought of my Lonaconing friends constantly throughout this project. Mrs. Thomas M. Holmes, the Jenny of my childhood, dug out memories and memorabilia. Mrs. Frank Hutton (the Bertha of my childhood years), Dr. and Mrs. Marvin Hodgson, Mr. and Mrs. John Meyers and Mary Meyers all contributed invaluable information and interest. Irving (Irish) C. Alexander kindly submitted to an interview despite his disapproval of the project as a whole. Dr. David Aitken was a great help in the first assembly of this piece. George Diegel, Robert L. Brown, Dr. and Mrs. Stanley Block generously contributed books, photographs, and antique baseball cards. And of course, the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown and the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore promptly answered my inquiries and provided a great deal of information. I am eternally grateful to all these people who have helped me set the record straight about the merits of Lefty and why he should be remembered.

1. Harold Kaese, "It's Tough to Take Your Shoes Off," *Saturday Evening Post,* 21 February 1942.

2. *Sporting News,* 12 July 1969.

3. Lawrence Ritter and Donald Honig, *The 100 Greatest Baseball Players Of All Time* (New York: William Morrow & Co. 1983).

4. Donald Honig, *The Man in the Dugout* (Chicago: Follet Publishing Co., 1977), p. 277.

5. Tom Meany and Tom Holmes, *Baseball's Best* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1964), pp. 50–51.

6. Honig, *Man in the Dugout,* pp. 133–134.

7. I received this account in a letter from Dr. and Mrs. Marvin Hodgson who now reside in California. They remembered hearing Graham McNamee's radio broadcasts with their families and other Lonaconing friends.

8. Fred Lieb, *Baseball as I Have Known It* (New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, 1977), pp. 191–195.

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14. Author's interview with Judge James S. Getty, Baltimore, Maryland, 1 August 1986.
15. Author's interview with Suter Kegg, Cumberland, Maryland, 24 June 1986.
16. Donald Honig, *Baseball When the Grass Was Real* (New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, 1975), p. 73.
17. Meany, *Baseball's Greatest Pitchers,* p. 97.
18. Ibid., pp. 97–98.
19. Newcombe, *The Fireballers,* pp. 73–75.
20. Kaese, "Tough to Take Your Shoes Off," p. 22.
21. The program from this dinner was given to me by Mrs. Thomas Holmes.
22. O'Rourke's piece appeared in the Baltimore *Sun,* 25 August 1946; see Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore. On Lefty in retirement, see also James H. Bready article, *Sun,* 31 March 1957, ibid.
23. Author's interview with Mrs. Thomas Holmes, Lonaconing, Maryland, 20 June 1986.
24. *Sporting News,* 12 July 1969.

Axis Prisoners of War in the Free State, 1943–1946

RICHARD E. HOLL

During World War II the United States established the largest prisoner of war (POW) program in its history. By May of 1945, the War Department held 425,871 Axis prisoners at approximately 650 camps scattered across the country. Of these men, about 372,000 were Germans, 50,000 Italians, and 4,000 Japanese. Every state, including Maryland, participated in the POW venture and contained at least one prisoner of war installation.[1]

The POW program in the Free State, as in the nation, progressed through three overlapping phases. The first stressed security, the prevention of POW escape; the second highlighted the benefits derived from the work performed by Axis prisoner-laborers; and the third emphasized political indoctrination of the captives. From 7 December 1941 through at least the latter part of 1943, the provost marshal general's office—the War Department agency in charge of the national POW program—thought largely in terms of securely housing the few prisoners under its authority. It acted cautiously; one guard typically supervised only two or three prisoners, authorities fearing that escapees would commit sabotage and endanger the general public. During this security stage the War Department established only one prisoner of war installation in Maryland—Fort George G. Meade (located at the juncture of Anne Arundel, Howard, and Prince George's counties), which obtained permission "to contain prisoners" on 15 September 1942.

With a capacity for 1,680 persons, Meade was the largest camp in the Free State[2] and at times housed more than 2,000. It first held enemy aliens—Axis civilians trapped in the U.S. when war erupted—who arrived in late 1942. Meade received its first shipment of captured soldiers, Italians, in September 1943, following the Allied landings in North Africa. By January 1944 it contained 1,632 Italian enlisted men, 55 German privates, and 3 German officers. Fort Meade's status changed on 26 May 1944, when it was activated as a camp for Germans.[3] From June of that year through V-E day, in the aftermath of the D-Day invasion, the fort operated near or above its capacity.

Though 1943 saw no new POW camps erected in Maryland, pressure built on the War Department to modify its conservative, security-oriented policy on war prisoners. Farmers, manufacturers, and businessmen, desperate for manpower, believed the POWs should be allowed out of Fort Meade to work. Maryland's em-

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ployers did indeed suffer from severe labor shortages during World War II, farmers, canners, and pulpwood operators experiencing the worst problems. S. H. Devault, chairman of the University of Maryland agricultural economics department, estimated that the supply of farm labor on 1 July 1942 was only 56 percent of normal. In May 1944 Lawrence B. Fenneman, state director of the War Manpower Commission (WMC), stated that a WMC survey showed that 30,000 workers would be required to process the state's food. Since only 17,000 former cannery workers were available, Fenneman projected a shortage of 13,000 employees. The lumber industry also found itself hard-pressed to find enough help.[4]

Thomas B. Symons, director of cooperative extension work and dean of agriculture and home economics at the University of Maryland, listened to farmers' complaints and contacted Senator Millard E. Tydings about the possibility of obtaining POW laborers. Symons recommended that some of these camps be built on the Eastern Shore, near Salisbury, a locale particularly hard hit by labor shortages, and also thought Southern Maryland would profit from POW camps. On 22 June 1943 Tydings wrote Hugh A. Drum, commanding general of the Eastern Defense Area and First Army, requesting more POW camps in Maryland and noting that without them crops might rot in the field. General Drum directed Tydings to the War Department, which in July stated that no more POW camps could be built in Maryland because the state lay within the Vital Air Defense Zone of the Eastern Defense Command. Robert P. Patterson, acting secretary of war, authorized "the employment in agriculture, to the extent practicable, of any of the remaining prisoners who may be interned at Fort Meade over and above these designated for the Quartermaster laundry work."[5] Yet Patterson's reply reflected the fact that security considerations still dominated. Those in command remained unwilling to permit large numbers of POWs outside barbed wire. Meantime the civilian labor shortage intensified, particularly in farming and canning, and the War Department faced mounting pressure from labor-starved employers.

Five months after Patterson's negative reply, Maryland authorities received word that the War Department had reversed itself; several new German POW camps would be established in the state. Though officials in Annapolis were startled by the order and concerned about a "Nazi invasion," employers reacted enthusiastically. The War Department resolved the security-productivity debate once and for all in February 1944, when a military-civilian conference meeting in Dallas, Texas, resolved to balance security with productivity, placing less emphasis on containing POWs and more on working them. The army gambled that full utilization of POW labor would more than compensate for the possible chaos that a few more escaped prisoners might cause. It discarded the old regulations that prevented the construction of POW installations within the Eastern Defense Command, relaxed security precautions (allowing one guard to supervise many more prisoners than before), and concentrated on the exploitation of POW labor.[6] Prisoner work details left their barbed wire enclosures and traveled to Maryland farms and factories.

The change in War Department policy toward productivity, formalized at the Dallas Conference, led to the construction of eighteen additional POW installations in Maryland. The new camps (see figure 1) included: Berlin, Worcester County; Cambridge, Dorchester County; Camp Ritchie, Frederick County; Camp Somerset,

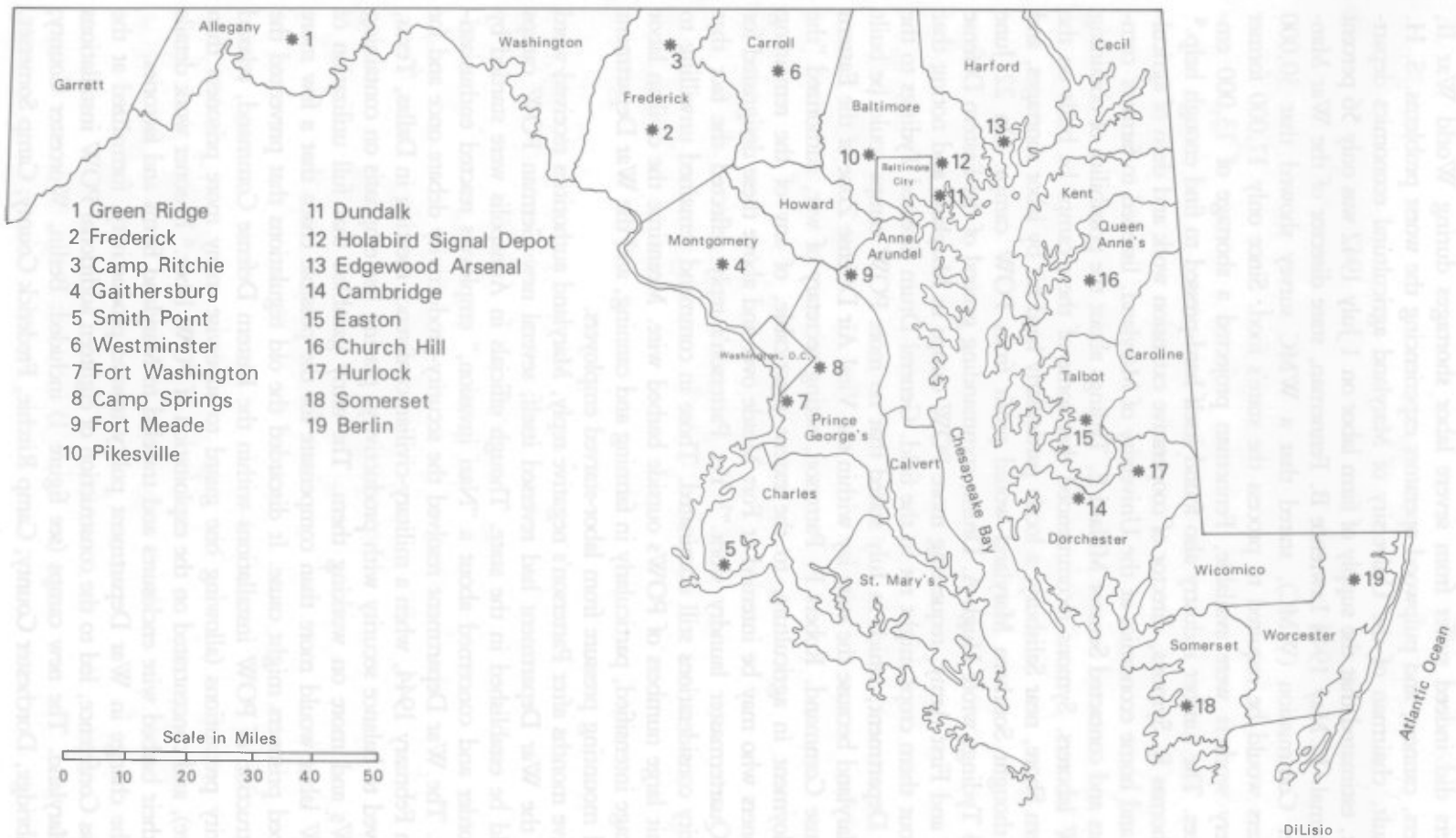

FIGURE 1. Prisoner of War Camps in Maryland, 1943–1945. (Graphic: James E. DiLisio)

near Westover, Somerset County; Camp Springs, Prince George's County; Church Hill, Queen Anne's County; Dundalk, Baltimore County; Easton, Talbot County; Edgewood Arsenal, Hartford County; Fort Washington, Prince George's County; Frederick, Frederick County; Gaithersburg, Montgomery County; Green Ridge, near Flintstone, Allegany County; Holabird Signal Depot, Baltimore City; Hurlock, Dorchester County; Pikesville, Baltimore County; Smith Point, near Grayton, Charles County; and Westminster, Carroll County.[7]

These camps held between 200 and 1,000 POWs, compared to 2,000 or more at Fort Meade (see table 1, following). They existed to meet the manpower demands in their locale and extracted as much work as possible from the prisoners, subject only to the limitations of the Geneva Convention. Signed by the U.S., Germany, and Italy in 1929, it stipulated that captured enemy officers could not be compelled to work and that non-commissioned officers could only supervise. Under the Geneva code, however, prison officials could force enlisted men to work at any job except one demeaning, degrading, or directly related to the war effort. In August 1945 Maryland served as temporary home to 10,942 Axis prisoners. This number included over 9,300 Germans, no more than 1,500 Italians, and less than 100 Japanese. Virginia, by comparison, held approximately 17,000 prisoners in twenty-seven installations.[8]

Most of the Germans housed in Maryland were Wehrmacht personnel, though smaller numbers came from the Luftwaffe and the navy. Camp Somerset, located one mile east of Westover and six miles south of Princess Anne, proved fairly typical. In April 1945 781 prisoners, including 560 from the Wehrmacht, 198 from the Luftwaffe, and 3 from the navy were kept there—along with a few civilians and "protected personnel" (though only one received certification as such). The vast majority of these prisoners were enlisted men, a few non-commissioned officers. Maryland prisoners, like those nationwide, received numbers identifying them. The War Department used "81" to denote POWs captured in North Africa, "31" for the European Theater; "G," obviously enough, indicated German. At the Easton camp, prisoner identification numbers usually began with 31 G. Hans Richter, for example—a German captured in Europe and encamped at Easton—had the number 31 G-128898. German prisoners exhibited different attitudes depending on the date and place of their capture. Members of General Erwin Rommel's vaunted Afrika Corps, rounded up earliest, proved the most "arrogant and cocksure" of the captives. Germans captured later, in the wake of the D-Day invasion, were more docile and therefore less troublesome.[9]

Italians POWs, given the status accorded Italy as a cobelligerent of the allies beginning in September 1943, fell into a different category. Subject to their disavowal of facism, Italian prisoners found themselves organized into Italian Service Units (ISUs). The ISUs, essentially labor squads, performed jobs that aided the war effort against Germany. Italian prisoners of war often received privileges not granted German captives. ISU members, for example, received an allowance of $3 per month—even after the War Department terminated it for other internees in 1945.[10] The department permitted Italian-American associations to entertain ISU members, though army guards still guarded them.

Japenese POWs numbered only about 100 men and quickly passed through the

state on their way to permanent camps elsewhere.[11] They performed little or no work in the Free State.

European POWs, on the other hand, provided a large amount of valuable labor. By August 1945 4,000 Maryland POWs worked for the army and navy, and 6,000 labored for civilian contractors. Military work indirectly related to the war effort always received highest priority. Prisoners of war labored in camp bakeries, canteens, hospitals, and laundries. They worked in induction and separation centers, freeing American soldiers to do more vital jobs. POWs also dug ditches, built roads, and graded lawns. The German POWs located at Camp Ritchie served as camp carpenters, shoemakers, firemen, medics, orderlies, and cooks. At the Holabird Signal Depot the army Signal Corps employed more internees.[12]

After the Dallas conference, Maryland farmers could apply for "excess" prisoners through the War Food Administration (WFA) of the Department of Agriculture. Manufacturers applied to the War Manpower Commission (WMC). In either case employers faced certain restrictions. POWs could work no more than ten hours a day and could be kept away from camp no more than twelve hours at a time. In some cases, contractors needed to provide transportation. The prisoners had an absolute right to a lunch break and in no way were to be abused or mistreated. The wage system worked well for everyone. Agricultural and industrial contractors paid the prevailing civilian wage rate for German help, the amount going directly into the U.S. Treasury. If a Maryland canning company paid about fifty cents per hour, a civilian worker could expect to make four or five dollars a day. The German prisoner-canner, however, received only eighty cents from the provost marshal gen-

TABLE 1.
Economic Activity in Maryland POW Camps, 1943–1946

Camp	County	Peak Number of Prisoners	Type of Work
Berlin	Worcester	539	Agricultural
Cambridge	Dorchester	400	Canning
Camp Ritchie	Frederick	176	Military
Camp Somerset	Somerset	1,034	Agricultural; canning; and pulpwood
Camp Springs	Prince George's	500	Military
Church Hill	Queen Anne's	390	Agricultural
Dundalk	Baltimore County	456	Agricultural; industrial
Easton	Talbot	538	Canning; agricultural
Edgewood Arsenal	Harford	760	Agricultural; military
Fort Meade	Anne Arundel	3,817	Agricultural; industrial; and military
Fort Washington	Prince George's	201	Agricultural; pulpwood
Frederick	Frederick	374	Agricultural
Gaithersburg	Montgomery	210	Agricultural
Green Ridge	Allegany	165	Agricultural; pulpwood
Holabird Signal Depot	Baltimore City	965	Agricultural; industrial; and military
Hurlock	Dorchester	295	Agricultural
Pikesville	Baltimore County	500	Agricultural; industrial
Smith Point	Charles	277	Agricultural; pulpwood
Westminster	Carroll	586	Agricultural

eral. Thus, from each Maryland POW the federal government stood to gain roughly three or four dollars a day, the money contributing toward a fund that defrayed the costs of feeding and housing the prisoners. Once all was said and done, the POW program—in Maryland as in America—largely paid for itself.[13]

The Germans also benefited from the arrangement. Though not paid as well as U.S. workers, eighty cents a day still approximated the pay a German private earned. Furthermore, German POWs did better than American troops held by the Third Reich. "No Axis nation," wrote the late Walter Rundell "paid a uniform rate for work comparable to the American rate."

Prohibited from holding currency or coin (lest they attempt to bribe their guards), Maryland POWs received script redeemable at camp canteens, where the Germans purchased such popular items as gum, soda, and tobacco. The canteen menu varied from one camp to the next. At the Easton installation POWs could "buy soap, tooth powder, shoe polish, and shoe cloths, tobacco, and many other things," but found "no candy bars or any soft drinks, or anything like that." At the end of the war, if a prisoner still held script or had saved his "money," he returned home with a bankroll, courtesy of Uncle Sam.[14]

POWs at Maryland's nineteen POW camps performed a broad spectrum of jobs besides military work. Farmers employed them to harvest all major crops produced in the state, including corn, peas, string beans, tobacco, tomatoes, and wheat. "Maryland had more prisoners in agriculture than any state on the Eastern Seaboard. The only state east of the Mississippi [River] using more prisoners in agriculture was Mississippi." At the Church Hill camp, located two to three miles outside town, between Church Hill and Centreville, German POWs threshed wheat. At the Easton installation, on the grounds of the Easton airport, they harvested peas and worked "on more than a hundred farms, such as Harmon Callahan's, Ralph Wolford's, and Ed Saulsbury's, haying, cutting barley, picking cucumbers, repairing barns, and doing other carpentry work." At Flintstone and Frederick, prisoners of war picked apples. The Frederick captives, sometimes paid at the rate of ten cents per bushel, averaged thirty bushels per day. One hundred Fort Meade POWs worked on farms in Anne Arundel County; 133 in Howard County; 96 in Montgomery County; and 69 in Prince George's County. At the Somerset camp, as of 17 May 1945, 113 German prisoners weeded, pruned, and thinned apple and peach orchards. Nineteen others engaged in general farm work (plowing, planting, cultivating, and making general farm repairs). After V-E day, prisoners at the Berlin installation operated "to speed up the supply of food to [U.S.] troops in the Pacific area. . . ."[15]

Marylanders acknowledged their debt to prisoners who worked in agriculture. G. F. Fowler, chairman of the Carroll County Canner's Association committee, which had two hundred German POWs help harvest peas, stated in June 1944 that "much of the country pea crop [was] saved from waste because of the work of the prisoners of war." Paul V. Nystrom, head of the Maryland Agricultural Extension Service, credited prisoner of war labor with the 35 percent increase in Maryland's tomato crop in 1945. Furthermore, German POWs received praise for saving virtually the entire crop of Eastern Shore tomatoes that year. Many experts allotted a share of the laurels for the 40 percent increase in Maryland's overall agricultural production during the war years to German help.[16]

Canners also made good use of prisoner-of-war labor. Three hundred out of 371 German POWs interned at Cambridge worked at the Phillips Canning Company, which packed "K" and "C" rations for the army. These POWs spent their time rust-proofing cans, loading cars, and wiring boxes. They did not actually pack the cans. Easton prisoners worked in the canneries of Harrison & Jarboe, Charles T. Wrightson & Son, and Phillips, both at the Cordova factory and at Cambridge. From time to time, internees from Fort Meade found employment at the Lord-Mott Cannery in Baltimore.[17]

Pulpwood operators, while less satisfied with POW labor then farmers or canners, also contracted for prisoners. At Green Ridge, in Allegany County, where the state department of forest and parks maintained a prisoner of war camp in cooperation with the army, POWs during 1944 and 1945 chopped 3,876 cords of pulpwood valued at $44,088. POW productivity, however, lagged behind that of a comparably inexperienced civilian. Jon Pearce, a pulpwood dealer from Monkton, Maryland, spoke for most logging and pulpwood contractors who used German or Italian workers when he said that, "I tried prisoner of war labor and found it unsatisfactory. The men, while willing to work, were inexperienced and their production of wood was about one-half that of good local labor." Nevertheless, even at Fort Meade, where prisoners performed mainly military work, POW pulpwood details occasionally went to help in the woods. During January of 1944, before large numbers of Germans arrived, Italian internees at Fort Meade provided much of the labor for a U.S. Forestry Service tree-cutting project that produced pulpwood for the manufacture of paper.[18]

Though farmers, canners, and pulpwood operators used the prisoners most extensively, POWs also did less familiar work. At the port of Baltimore, they salvaged lumber and unloaded ships. At Edgewood Arsenal they found employment in the Chemical Warfare Center. Twenty Smith Point internees under the direction of the U.S. Public Health Service sought to eradicate water-chestnut growth on the Potomac River in order to destroy mosquitoes that bred in the vegetation. All told, during the six month period from June to December 1945, German and Italian POWs working in Maryland saved the U.S. government approximately five million dollars. Pressed into emergency service in the wake of the Dallas Conference, Maryland prisoners constituted a valuable labor resource at precisely the time it was most needed. Major General Philip Hayes, commanding officer of the Third Service Command, comprising Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, best summarized the contribution of the Axis captives when he stated that "the lack of civilian labor might have affected our operations significantly. As it is, the use of the prisoners has enabled us to get our work done and remain on schedule."[19]

The Geneva agreement required that prisoners of war receive the same food as the captor's soldiers. In Maryland the POW diet, which contained from 3,400 to 3,700 calories per day, proved more than satisfactory. At Easton, breakfast—served cafeteria style—typically included rolled oats, milk, raised bread, and coffee. Lunch normally consisted of stew with vegetables, rye bread, fresh fruit and water. Supper menus varied, depending upon seasonal availability of produce; they in-

FIGURE 2. Prisoners of War unload vegetables at Edgewood Arsenal. (Maryland World War II Records, Maryland Historical Society)

cluded soup, beans and peas, choice of vegetable, salad, rye bread, and tea. German POWs occasionally received fish, salami, and sausage. Officials even allowed prisoners to trade food. At Fort Meade Germans swapped "pumpkin and corn for potatoes and bread, which they much preferred."[20] Italian POWs received meals tailored to their national diet. Pasta dishes proved to be favorites.

Camp commanders also allowed the Axis captives to participate in athletic, cultural, educational, and religious activities. After working, prisoners played sports, read books, played muscial instruments, formed orchestras, and attended church services. Labor, of course, always came first. But a recreational period made up part of every POW's daily routine. At Somerset, for example, German captives made good use of a soccer field, where they also played fistball and enjoyed a high jump, broad jump, and horizontal bars. Camp Somerset also contained a library that grew to more than 1,300 volumes and subscribed to the *New York Times, Life, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, Science Digest,* and *Time.* As of 17 April 1945, the school at this camp included a POW director, six teachers, and one-hundred-and-ten pupils. Classes concentrated on the elementary level, though nine prisoners took correspondence courses at American universities. Fort Meade, too, offered its prisoners an opportunity at higher education. Thirteen prisoners there enrolled in a differential calculus course from the University of Chicago extension service; six others opted for English composition, four for chemistry, and one for analytical

geometry. Another POW student took a business English course from the University of Minnesota.[21]

At several Eastern Shore camps the captives formed orchestras and staged a variety of plays. At Cambridge the POWs organized a theater troupe, an orchestra of fourteen members, and a chorus of forty voices. Shows and concerts, performed regularly, drew many appreciative spectators including American service personnel. The Somerset orchestra contained "$3,500 worth of musical instruments." In civilian life its German music director played in a dance and light musical orchestra.[22]

At Easton, religion played an unusually large role in prisoner life. On 22 October 1944, for example, three hundred of the six hundred Protestant POWs interned here attended church services. This turnout was extraordinary, since in an average camp fewer than 20 percent of the prisoners went to church. At Fort Meade, for instance, only 10 percent of the POWs bothered to attend services. Andre Vulliet of the international YMCA speculated that those POWs may have been "exceptionally irreligious." Captain R. Hegelmann, an army chaplain who spoke German, ministered to the more devoted Easton prisoner-parishioners.[23]

The vast majority of Axis prisoners, well-treated by their American keepers and comforted by the knowledge that the war could not last forever, followed orders. Captain Marshall Hawks, chief of the prisoner of war division of the Third Service Command, stated that "it is of interest to note that during the entire stay of the prisoners in Maryland, there were few behavior problems, few escapes, most of which were short lived, and no evidence of sabotage." W. Alvord Sherman, assistant state supervisor of emergency farm labor, "explained that the prisoners [he knew] were well-behaved, industrious, and generally cooperative." Irene Moxey Harper, an East New Market teenager at the time, remembered that the Hurlock Germans "did nothing negative or disrespectful. They were beautiful people." Most POWs in Maryland worked where ordered and took advantage of the athletic, cultural, and religious opportunities offered them.[24]

Inevitably, though, some internees—almost always Germans—resisted camp authority. Escapes and strikes, though only occasional events, took place and resulted in lost work. Escape constituted a difficult, potentially fatal, proposition. The odds against the success of such a venture proved astronomic. A prisoner first needed to circumvent camp guards. Even if he succeeded in clearing the grounds of his camp, the escapee entered hostile territory thousands of miles from his homeland. He became a wanted man, sought by both the U.S. Army and Federal Bureau of Investigation. A handful of prisoners dared to beat the odds. On 15 June 1944, at about 6:55 P.M., Korvettenkapitaen Werner Henke attempted to scale the enclosure wire at his Fort Meade work camp. A guard repeatedly screamed at him to stop, but to no avail. When Henke mounted the barbed wire fence the soldier fired, killing the German almost instantly.[25]

The average escapee did not die, but experienced recapture, usually within twenty-four hours. The case of Siegfried Vogel, a nineteen-year-old German, proved typical. Reported missing from the Cambridge POW installation on 24 July 1945, he was recaptured near East New Market the next day. One man, though, achieved considerably greater success. On 30 October 1945, Karl Her-

mann Pospiech, a twenty-one-year-old former tank corpsman interned at Camp Somerset, made good a daring escape by wearing the U.S. Army trousers he had worn in a POW stage play. Pospiech made his way to New York City, where, aided by his command of English, he procured a job in the shipping department at Roberta Roberts perfumery. Pospiech managed to sustain himself in anonymity month after month, spending his leisure time at both Carnegie Hall and the Metropolitan Opera. In April 1946 the FBI recaptured him—but not before he had experienced five months of freedom. When taken, "Karl Hermann" had both a social security card and American discharge pin![26]

Strikes, like escapes, took place only periodically and met with no lasting success. Most occurred because prisoners believed the job given them too difficult; a few protested what the POWs considered war-related assignments. To deal with prisoner strikes, the provost marshal general's office adopted the "No work, No Eat" policy of World War I. If a POW refused to work or a group of prisoners went out on strike, diet would be restricted to bread and water. Time in the camp guardhouse accompanied this limited meal plan. At Fort Meade refusal to obey American orders or possession of unauthorized items landed offenders in the brig on bread and water. At Camp Somerset "rebellious Germans were promptly placed on reduced diets until they became agreeable." In at least one instance, however, Eastern Shore farmers deemed more extreme measures necessary. Prisoners at Camp Somerset disliked cutting cord wood in the dense, swampy forests around Westover. On one occasion, in order to avoid this odious task, several balked at this intrinsically difficult work. The farmers in charge "stripped them of their clothes and chained them to a tree in the swamp. After a three-hour ordeal with Somerset's infamous mosquitoes, the Germans turned cooperative."[27]

Buoyed by the successful use of prisoners of war as a labor resource, the war department in the fall of 1944 turned toward a new project aimed to modify the political views of German captives. The third and final phase of the flowering POW program sought to shift the allegiance of German POWs from National Socialism to political democracy. In September of that year the provost marshal general's office created the Prisoner of War Special Projects Division (POWSPD), which took control of the re-education effort. Because the Geneva code prohibited compulsory measures designed specifically to alter the political ideas of POWs, the POWSPD instituted a voluntary program euphemistically known as "Intellectual Diversion," a "massive multimedia effort."[28]

Before "Intellectual Diversion," there were signs that Nazi extremists exercised unwholesome influence. At Camp Somerset, ardent Nazis harassed the less-committed. A Nazi medic refused to administer first aid unless he received a *heil* salute. Two other hardcore POWs harassed prisoner of war churchgoers. National Socialist sympathizers among the internees also burned copies of *Der Ruf* (*The Call*), a national prisoner of war newspaper produced by anti-Nazi POWs under the guidance of POWSPD officers at Camp Kearney, Rhode Island. The German spokesman at Camp Somerset explained opposition to *Der Ruf* when he proclaimed "we know that it comes from higher authority." Certain Fort Meade POWs also

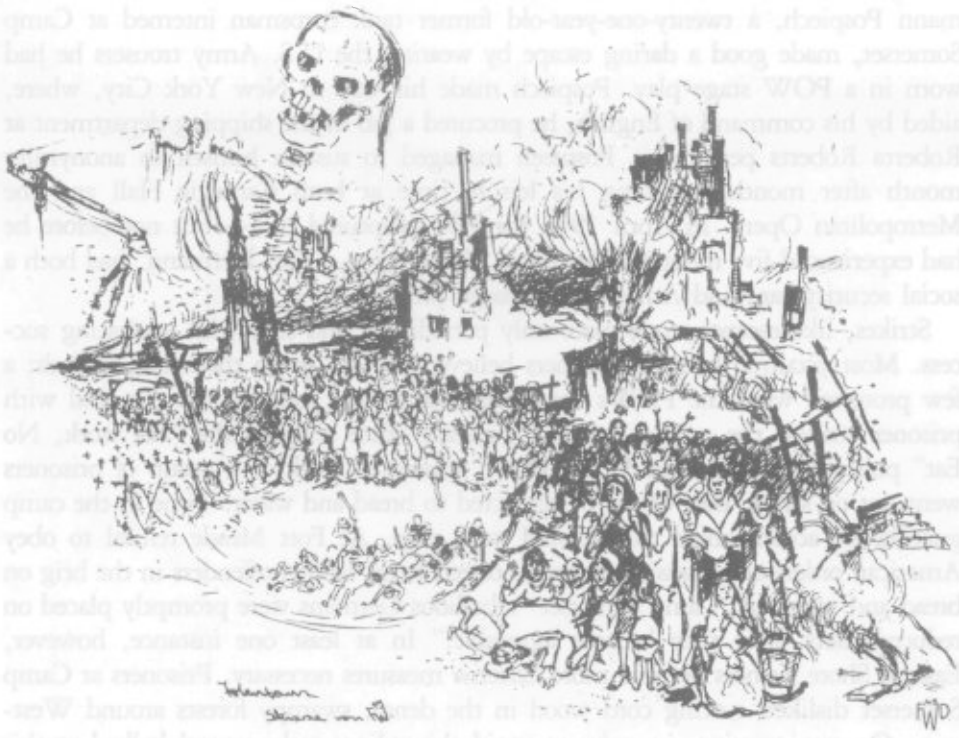

FIGURE 3. "Nie Vergessen!" (*Der Ruf*, 1 August 1945). "Never Forget!" advised this cartoon, printed in a newspaper that was part of an ambitious psychological warfare and rehabilitation program.

disliked *Der Ruf* and destroyed the paper when possible. At the Holabird Signal Depot, an anti-Nazi missed four days of work because placed in protective custody. The camp commander feared that this man would be attacked by Nazi thugs unless quarantined. At Easton a bullpen separated POWs "at odds" with their countrymen. Many references to Germans placed in camp brigs for "political reasons" appeared in inspection reports.[29] Though no Nazi prisoner ever murdered an anti-Nazi in Maryland camps, intimidation was another matter entirely.

As part of its efforts to defuse political tension within the Maryland camps, the POWSPD dispatched an Assistant Executive Officer (AEO) to each installation. The AEO identified the most rabid Nazis and then had them transferred to segregated camps, one of them in Oklahoma. At Somerset, the AEO followed standard procedure by removing the Nazi medic and his anti-religious comrades.[30] Their influence gone, Somerset experienced fewer problems. The POWSPD did not waste its energies on hardcore National Socialists. It accepted the thinking that 8 to 10 percent of the prisoners were incorrigible. Reindoctrination efforts in Maryland concentrated on German anti-Nazis and political moderates, stimulating individualism among them and eroding uncritical habits. These men, though they often opposed Adolf Hitler, were not automatically democrats. AEOs throughout the Free State worked to change that fact.

Camp commanders on the Eastern Shore received bound volumes containing photographs of German atrocities. Captain Wame Hallmark, officer in charge of

the Easton POWs, placed them "in the recreation end of the mess tents." He also tacked up another large poster, supplied by the Signal Corps, in the camp canteen. It filled a space four by six feet and showed "a close-up of a pile of naked, starved corpses in a prison camp in Germany." The caption read "This Is Why We Fight."[31] *Der Ruf* circulated at Fort Meade, Camp Somerset, Holabird Signal Depot, Fort Washington and other camps. Atrocity pictures and newspaper accounts detailing the inhuman fate of the Jews caused some Germans to reevaluate National Socialism.

In their struggle to modify the political views of captured fascists, AEOs wanted "to awaken or sharpen the feeling for the political responsibility of the citizen," remarked a close student of their work; "to arouse a capacity for spontaneity on the part of men whose training and education had placed special value on obedience and a respect of hierarchy; and to provide sorely needed encouragement to men who were asked to welcome the ruin of their individual and collective existence as the precondition of a new 'good life.' "[32]

The AEO hoped to accomplish these ambitious objectives through the study of German and United States history. He explained to the prisoners of war that "anachronistic social and political forces," which stifled individual freedom of expression, had led to "the undemocratic reality of the German past." He insisted that "a direct connection [existed] between Nazism and the Realpolitik of Frederick II and Bismarck." But, he also made it clear that there were "democratic potentialities in the German past."[33] The example of the Weimer Republic, both its good and its mistakes, loomed large. The AEO emphasized the "wrong turns" and "dead ends" contained within the German past while stressing the importance of democracy to American development. In so doing the AEO hoped to convince the POWs that a democratic form of government offered post-war Germany the best avenue to future success.

After V-E day planning began for the repatriation of Axis prisoners of war. From the summer of 1945 through the spring of 1946, the prisoners gradually left Maryland. By August 1946 all German and Italian POWs had departed except for a handful either confined to hospitals or to stockades for violations of military law.[34]

By that time, the POW program in Maryland had passed through three distinct stages. Security concerns held precedence until December 1943, War Department planners sacrificing prisoner output in the interest of airtight containment. In Maryland the decision to send prisoners to farms, canneries, and saw mills resulted in higher industrial output and additional food for the American war effort. Re-education, the final stage in the burgeoning POW program, began after it became clear that the Third Reich was doomed. Effective throughout 1945 and into 1946, it forced German prisoners to confront the evils of their government and convinced some men of the advantages inherent in "the American way."

Maryland POWs, though forced to earn their keep, generally received excellent treatment at a time when the vast majority of Americans in and out of government may have been tempted to retaliate against them. Self-interest, of course, co-existed with humanitarianism.

NOTES

The largest repository of sources for any general study on Axis prisoners of war in the United States is the National Archives. Both the Modern Military Branch (MMB) and the Diplomatic Branch (DB) hold a variety of valuable documents. These include the records of the Provost Marshal General's Office (PMGO) and camp inspection reports by such agencies as the International Red Cross, the Legation of Switzerland, and the U.S. State Department. The NA also holds a one-reel-microfilm compilation titled "Weekly and Semi-Monthly Reports on Prisoners of War, June 1942–30 June 1946." This reel contains opening and closing dates for all the base and branch POW installations in the U.S., plus population statistics.

The Maryland Historical Society (MdHS) in Baltimore houses specific information on Axis prisoners of war. Manuscript Collection 2010, including box 165:PW-PWI and box 35:BMM, should be consulted. In addition, volume 1 of Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in World War II,* is helpful, containing a list of prisoner installations.

1. Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), p. 272; Douglas D. Alder and Ralph A. Busco, "German and Italian Prisoners of War in Utah and Idaho," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971):57.

2. Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War,* p. 27. See also "Goose-Step Forgotten, PWs Leaving Maryland," Baltimore *Sun,* 5 May 1946, p. 1 (special POW supplement).

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Research Notes and Maryland Miscellany

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PETER H. CURTIS AND ANNE S. K. TURKOS
COMPILERS

INTRODUCTION

From 1975 to 1982 the *Maryland Historical Magazine* published annual bibliographies of books, articles and dissertations relating to Maryland history, and a compilation in the Spring 1987 issue covered such works published through 1986. The following list includes materials published during 1987, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention. For recent publications in genealogy and family history, see the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin.*

Bibliographers must live with the fact that their work is never finished. Please notify us of any significant omissions so that they may be included in the next list. Send additional items to:

Peter H. Curtis, Curator
Marylandia Department
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College Park, MD 20742

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Book Reviews

The Baltimore Sun, 1837–1987. By Harold A. Williams. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. 418. Illustrations, sources, index. $29.50.)

It may have been the *Sun*'s finest hour. During the 1904 fire that leveled twenty-four blocks of Baltimore, Sunpaper employees—printers, reporters, editors and pressmen—wanted to stay to get the paper out even as the fire crept closer. Walter Abell, son of the president and the man in charge, said no, "We'll take no chances with men's lives" (p. 101). Grumbling, the men left. An hour later the employees were on a train to Washington, where they produced an eight-page edition at the *Washington Star* plant, in time to have it back in Baltimore by 5 A.M.

There were other dramatic efforts at gathering and disseminating the news in those early years—including pony express, carrier pigeons, and, in 1837, use of both courier and train to report the twelve-thousand word text of a presidential message the day after it was delivered, a precedent at the time.

Harold Williams, whose own career at the *Sun* spanned more than four decades, from 1940 to 1981, covers the first 150 years of the Baltimore *Sun* in this encyclopedic volume, an authorized newspaper biography produced for its sesquicentennial celebration.

With depth of detail, Williams traces the *Sun*'s evolution from its upstart beginnings as a part of the "penny press" appealing to the masses, to its latter-day personna as the "staid old lady," a dull, dependable, establishment newspaper.

Williams, who began work on this book in 1976, describes without criticism the life and times of the newspaper. He reports but does not interpret or pass judgment. In this often reverential book, Williams refers to Arunah S. Abell in upper case as "The Founder."

For readability, Williams had a tough act to follow: the centennial *Sunpapers of Baltimore* by Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken and Hamilton Owens. The sequel, if it can be called that, sometimes reads like a catalog of trivial facts, supplemented by an endless roll-call of names.

Nonetheless, some sections make for fascinating reading. My favorite chapter describes the antics and characters of the *Evening Sun,* the livelier, more déclassé of the Sunpapers. Here is where the legends of newspaper lore come alive for the reader. Listen to Williams describe J. Edwin Murphy, the *Evening Sun*'s managing editor in the 1920s: "Murphy had a cannon voice that could blast fissures in the ceiling." Williams's affection is contagious.

Williams also devotes deserved space to one of the most colorful, off-beat characters in the *Sun* publishing lineage: Van Lear Black, the chairman of the board who seldom set foot inside the *Sun* building but made a name for himself as a somewhat self-indulgent sportsman who liked to tempt fate. A yachtsman, he mysteriously disappeared in the Atlantic in 1930. Legend has it he lived on to start a new life incognito in New England.

One Sunpapers tradition that emerges clearly is nepotism in the upper ranks. Or, as Williams puts it more gently, a "tradition of son following father" (p. 291). Whether this has helped or hurt the institution is a matter of conjecture, which Williams leaves to others.

Williams also describes the rise and decline of the Sunpapers as a force outside of Baltimore and Maryland. At one time, the *Sun* had a bigger circulation in the District of Columbia than did any of the Washington papers. Today, the *Washington Post* has more

Maryland readers than the morning *Sun,* almost more than both Sun papers combined, and more on Sundays—although a lively competition has developed over local coverage in some of the counties between the cities.

Following a brash start, the *Sun* waffled over the Civil War—as did the state. After the war, the *Sun* took on the Democratic machine of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, then lost its zest for crusading. By the early twentieth century, Williams notes, the *Sun* had "largely averted its glance from corrupt government and social injustices" (p. 90). A 1919 internal memo said the *Sun* lacked character. It went on to suggest ways to make the *Sun* essential reading in Washington, a newspaper of national influence.

That hasn't happened, although the *Sun* maintains a large Washington bureau that certainly enriches the newspaper diet of its Maryland readers. But the *Sun* is surely influential within Maryland. The paper's endorsement of Harry Hughes for governor in 1978 was pivotal. His primary victory played havoc with the *Washington Post* coverage. Assuming he had no chance, the *Post* hadn't assigned a reporter to Hughes and had to scurry to catch up.

On the other hand, the Washington paper has sometimes seemed more willing to pursue Maryland's own scandals more aggressively, from Marvin Mandel to Spiro Agnew. Williams notes that it was the *Wall Street Journal* that got the big news break on the Agnew story. *Sun* State House coverage isn't even mentioned.

The *Sun*'s view of Baltimore has been mostly sunny. In 1979, columnist Michael Olesker, newly hired from the *News-American,* wrote that the *Sun* was a "stuffy paper not interested in the real Baltimore" (p. 326). That was and is certainly less so for the *Evening Sun,* which received a boost, and hopefully, a new lease on life, when the *News-American* folded in 1986.

The book, at its best, is filled with fascinating nuggets: Drew Pearson worked in the Washington bureau. Frank Kent was the first TRB in the *New Republic.* E. T. Baker was "deft at rewrite and features and later [became] a senior Guild official" (p. 295). Other *Sun* alumni include Turner Catledge, who went on to edit the *New York Times,* novelist James Cain (he was fired), Hendrik Willem Van Loon, William Manchester, and Russell Baker.

The sale in 1986 of the Sunpapers to the Los Angeles Times Mirror Co. gives the book a nice symmetry. With the A. S. Abell Co. absorbed within the larger out-of-town corporation, the book not only has a beginning and a middle but also an end. Or, to put it in newspaper parlance, *The Baltimore Sun, 1837–1987* has a nice kicker. But precisely what that kicker means for the newspaper will be left to others, presumably including the author of the *Sun*'s bicentennial history, to reflect on nearly fifty years hence.

EUGENE L. MEYER
Washington Post

Bay Country. By Tom Horton. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. Pp. 223. Index. $16.95.)

This is an exceptionally well-written elegaic to the passing of Chesapeake Bay. Tom Horton, a nature writer for the *Baltimore Sun* and amateur conservationist, offers a view of the Chesapeake Bay country that presents little hope for the continuation of the region as a distinct, thriving ecosystem. Horton writes that he is glad to have experienced the Chesapeake while it still has its beauty and romance. Others in the future may not be as fortunate.

Horton is a disciple of Aldo Leopold, the famous Wisconsin conservationist of the 1930s, and his book embodies the "land ethic" viewpoint that Leopold popularized. Thus Horton looks at conservation and the preservation of the Chesapeake Bay country less in

human and dollar-and-cents terms and more in terms of wildlife and natural habitat being representative of the spiritual side of all creation. If we lose the Bay, somehow we lose a fundament of existence.

Horton mournfully looks back to a time when the Bay was clear to the depth of twelve feet and humans lived in harmony with the natural environment. The Bay country, Horton feels, should be viewed as an ethical and esthetic resource. Compared to sterile oppressive industrial civilization, the Bay has so much to offer man.

The book is a chronicle of sad developments—from landfill spilling into and ruining the Patuxent River to the precipitous decline of the Chesapeake oyster fishery. Man, pollution, and technology are the culprits, Horton notes. Lest we dismiss Horton as a romantic visionary, let it be said that he cites even those who derive their living from the Bay for pursuing their own selfish ends and thus adding to the Bay's demise.

Ironically, Horton as a writer is at his best when he describes the sprawling sewage juggernaut, the Blue Plains Regional Wastewater Treatment Plant on the Potomac River. If pollution is killing the Bay, Horton notes, it is awfully selective. While oysters are in decline, other parts of the "Chesapeake biomass" such as perch, crabs, and menhaden are flourishing. Those species that begin their lives in the ocean and then swim upwards into the Bay appear to survive the best.

Horton has ranged widely over the sixty-four thousand square mile watershed of the Chesapeake Bay. He is as easily at home in describing fish runs in Rock Creek Park in Washington as he is charting the rhythms of life on Smith Island in Somerset County.

All life begins at the edges of sea and marsh, writes Tom Horton, and he uses this theme to erect a powerful critique of the industrial urban civilization that is destroying the Bay. In a prose style mystical and reverential he appeals both to our minds and hearts when he discusses the problems that confront this proud estuary.

Given the dilemma of the Chesapeake Bay, what are we to do? Aside from highly individualized conservation campaigns to save Assateague Island or the Bay rock fish, Horton discusses few prescriptive programs for saving the Bay. "As we turn the watershed increasingly to human use," Horton writes, "we permananetly foreclose valuable options for reversing pollution." Thus in the future the Bay's most important product may be not its biological contents but rather the growing stack of books about the Bay and its problems.

If the life cycle of Chesapeake Bay begins at the edges, then those edges in the future will be increasingly steel and concrete ones. But like the Chesapeake Bay crab that survives even the horrid chemical excesses of the Patapsco River, man too will survive and contribute to the life of Cheasapeake Bay.

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN
University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

Old Homes and Families of Howard County, Maryland. By Celia M. Holland. (Privately printed, 1987. Pp. xlviii, 487. Illus. Index. $47.50.)

The author has put together an interesting, informative, and well documented history of the old homes and established families of Howard County. She has not limited her attention to the great mansions the popular imagination associates with colonial Maryland, but has included log houses such as the one near Highland and the Sarah Jane Dorsey Cabin, and stone houses such as Ivy Hill and the Wayside Inn. Churches, inns, and schoolhouses are also discussed, and the author has included numerous photographs of the people, their homes and structures, and even a tombstone or two.

The material is arranged by regions: Elkridge, Ellicott City, Woodstock, Lisbon,

Clarksville, and Savage. Each account of a structure includes an account of the first building and any subsequent remodeling, as well as biographical notes on the families who have lived there.

Sources used by Mrs. Holland for documentation include early tax and assessment lists, land records, school records, published house and family histories, and family letters, as well as conversations with present owners. The section on Doughoregan Manor makes use of material from the letters of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton, newspapet obituaries, and biographies of various family members.

Mrs. Holland is an experienced wtitet, and has written of Howard County landmarks in the *Central Maryland News* and the *Howard County Times*. She began her career as a wtiter for the Baltimote *Sun* and is author of *Ellicott City, Maryland: Mill Town, U.S.A.* So conversant is she with source records that she has used the 1798 Assessment List to describe the structures as they stood in that year. She is honest enough to admit in her preface that parts of the book were written some time ago, and that a combination of factors have made it impossible to bring each account up to date or to include all the properties that might have been discussed. In spite of these few drawbacks, the book is well done and will be welcomed by historic home owners, local history scholars, and buffs.

ROBERT W. BARNES
Perry Hall

Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800. Edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell. Foreword by Wilcomb E. Washburn. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 214. Two maps, index. $27.50.)

The stimulus for this volume originated with the conference on "The Imperial Iroquois" at Williamsburg, Virginia, in March 1984, with further consideration of related themes at the annual meeting of the Amerlcan Society for Ethnohistoty in Chicago, November 1985. Challenging, first of all, the myth of the Iroquois empire, the authors propose to "move beyond studies of the Covenant Chain system of European-Indian alliances . . . both conceptually and geographically" (pp. 6–7).

Three sections each with three essays, contribute to these goals. In the first section, "Perspectives from Iroquois," Daniel K. Richter's "Ordeals of the Longhouse" emphasizes the ability of the Iroquois to adjust to new challenges within the framework of their cultural identity and distinguishes between the Great League of Peace as a cultural institution and the Iroquois Confederacy as a political entity. Mary A. Druke, in "Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy," stresses the role of leader/follower relationships in diplomatic alliances, relating these to social and cultural characteristics of the tribes and the exercise of leadership. Richard L. Haan's "Covenant and Consensus" suggests that there were several chains, not just one Covenant Chain, and that the Iroquois were less unified and had much more confusion in negotiations than the English perceived.

In part two, "Near Neighbors," Neal Salisbury examines the neglected importance of the southern New England Algonquians during the early years before the decline after King Philip's War and the treaty of 1677 that marked the end of their "political autonomy and reciprocity" (p. 73). Francis Jennings analyzes the role of "Pennsylvania Indians" in relations with the Iroquois, again arguing against the belief that the Iroquois conquered the Susquehannocks and explaining the eventual decline of the Delawares. This essay includes the greatest attention in this volume to Maryland officials and Maryland Indians. Michael N. McConnell considers the relationship of the Itoquois with Ohio In-

dians from 1720 to 1768 in a "volatile land" and concludes that "instead of a land subdued and controlled by the Six Nations, there was an Ohio Indian world created by a variety of people—Shawnees, Delawares, and Iroquois. Into this world the councils of the Six Nations rarely intruded; and when they did, it was with little influence and less authority" (p. 93).

Part three turns to more "Distant Friends and Foes" with James H. Merrell examining the intense antagonism between the Iroquois and the Catawbas in South Carolina, a rivalry that seemed to satisfy a culture of conflict for both groups. Hostilities did not subside until peaceful overtures began with the visit of the Catawba King Hagler to New York in 1751. Theda Purdue turns to the Cherokees and reviews their eighteenth-century experience in native diplomacy in which the British failed to control their actions. Yet the coexistence of peace and war "enabled Cherokees and Iroquois to adopt a formal posture that appeased the British while simultaneously pursuing a different course that satisfied the internal needs of their societies" (p. 149). The final essay by Douglas W. Boyce traces the fate of the Tuscaroras, who for some two thousand years had occupied the northern part of what became North Carolina. Boyce argues for equality within the Iroquois Confederacy for those who moved north after their defeat in the Tuscarora War, while some Indians remained in Carolina under Tom Blount as a part of the dispersion described in the title "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke."

While throughout the volume scholars question the existence of an Iroquois empire, their interpretations of the nature of the Covenant Chain vary. The essays rely heavily upon printed primary sources and devote more attention to the details of Indian-Indian and Indian-white relations than to the characteristics of Indian culture underlying the actions of each group. The complexity of Iroquois history evident in these essays makes more understandable the failure of both British and American officials to comprehend the true nature of Indian society. The role of the Iroquois in Colonial America remains a formidable problem; these essays contribute significantly to the ongoing debate in Iroquois historical studies.

W. STITT ROBINSON
University of Kansas

Lincoln's Lee: The Life of Samuel Phillips Lee, 1812–1897. By Dudley Cornish and Virginia Laas. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986. Pp. xv, 245. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

This is a narrowly focused, intensely detailed account of the naval career and private life of one of the Union Navy's most dedicated flag officers. The well-born Lee became a thoroughly competent leader and a meticulous administrator. The voluminous documentary records available to Cornish and Laas attest to this. Born in Fairfax County, Virginia, Phillips Lee (as he preferred to be called) kept faith with the U.S. Navy, unlike his cousins Sydney Smith Lee and Robert E. Lee, who "went South" (Smith Lee joined the Confederate States Navy).

Cornish and Laas understand the naval context in which Lee operated. From the prewar years, Lee's difficult service under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes during the famous 1838–1842 Exploring Expedition stands out. Lee, a stickler for propriety, became increasingly critical of Wilkes's assumption of the rank of captain and Wilkes was aware of it. Paradoxically, he thought Lee too eager to assume functions belonging to more senior officers. Finally, when Wilkes chose to promote junior lieutenants to command over him, Lee objected. Wilkes suspended him, sending him back to Washington, half way around the world. Wilkes wrote in his autobiography that "I had no other feeling towards him

than contempt which would exist as long as I lived" (William J. Morgan et al., eds. *Autobiography of Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes, U.S. Navy, 1798–1877* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978], p. 408. Wilkes's dislike seems to have been no bar to Lee's advancement. Indeed, Wilkes had so many enemies that Lee's impasse with him may have acted as a positive recommendation.

Phillips Lee took command of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron in 1862. Over a two-year period he enlarged the squadron and improved its efficiency. The authors give him credit for the effectiveness of the blockade, and it is true that Lee's ships captured numerous prizes. His own wealth increased because of it, to the amount of $260,000 accumulated during and after the Civil War. Yet the authors ignore a body of revisionist writing that points to the weaknesses of the blockade, particularly in Lee's primary area, off Wilmington. They do not cite William N. Still's *Naval War College Review* article of May-June 1983, which demonstrates the porous nature of the blockade. Thus, although the authors steep their research in primary sources, they overlook recent naval history scholarship. Cornish and Laas portray well the decline of the post-Civil War navy and the annexationist foreign policy of the Grant administrations. They also present in a charming manner Lee's last years as a farmer in Silver Spring, Maryland, where he continued his deeply ingrained naval habit of "keeping a log" of his farming activities.

The records used for this study deserve some comment, for few officers of the Union Navy provided their biographers greater documentation. Cornish and Laas make extensive use of the Blair-Lee papers at Princeton University, the Rear Admiral Samuel P. Lee papers at the Library of Congress, and Record Groups 23, 24, and 45 of the National Archives. A unique part of the record consists of private letters of Phillips Lee and his wife Elizabeth Blair Lee, numbering in the thousands. The authors have used these rich sources judiciously, resisting the temptation to quote extensively.

Cornish and Laas vividly project Lee's personality, by means of his dealings with other officers and the fluctuating relationships with his fiancé and wife; his father-in-law, Francis Preston Blair; and Lee's own brothers. Lee was at turns prickly, sentimental, proud, over-sensitive, arrogant, a taskmaster, an indefatigable commander, a meticulous record-keeper, and a prolific correspondent. Lee was blessed with a long and relatively healthy old age and with grandchildren Brooke Lee and Blair Lee, progeny who carried on the competence of Phillips Lee in Maryland public service and private enterprise. It is surprising that we have had to wait this long for a fine biography of Admiral Lee. It was well worth the wait, for the authors' scholarship makes a solid contribution to modern naval biography with relevance to the history of Maryland.

WILLIAM S. DUDLEY
Naval Historical Center

Canneries of the Eastern Shore. By R. Lee Burton, Jr. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986. Pp. 206. Appendix, bibliography. $22.95.)

Canneries of the Eastern Shore developed out of the author's interest in collecting canning memorabilia, especially the tokens (later redeemable for cash) that canners used as a form of exchange with workers paid on a piece rate. Burton attempts to place these artifacts in historical context: several introductory chapters describe the origin of the canning industry, the rise of Baltimore as a canning center, the impact of technology on the industry, and the history of canning on the Eastern Shore. There follow chapters that detail canning in each of the eight Shore counties.

The use of material artifacts as a focus for broader historical analysis is surely a credible approach; George McDaniel's *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia:

Temple University Press, 1982) is an outstanding local example of this method. Likewise, the Eastern Shore canning industry is a worthy subject for historical inquiry; throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was a dominant force in the local economy. Yet Burton's work never moves much beyond a narrow antiquarianism. The most useful parts of the book are the comprehensive and well-researched lists of past and present canners in each Shore county and the system the author has devised for classifying cannery tokens.

As a history, *Canneries of the Eastern Shore* therefore disappoints. It also contains numerous inaccuracies and omissions. Thomas Kensett is incorrectly noted as establishing the first Baltimore cannery in 1849 (actually, Edward Wright did, in the early 1840s). Similarly, the discussion of technological developments in the can-making process—originally a skilled handcraft—omits mention of the Cox Capper, an automatic capping machine introduced in the late nineteenth century and recognized by canners themselves as the single most important development in mechanizing can making. More troublesome, however, is the way Burton ignores or glosses over some of the larger questions a study of the Eastern Shore canning industry raises. Nowhere, for example, does he explore the role canning played in maintaining the caste-like system of race relations on the Shore, where canners were invariably white, cannery workers generally black. Similarly, the fact that some canneries, typically haphazard about waste disposal, have closed down in recent years in part because they have not been able to afford the expensive, albeit sanitary methods required by increasing government regulation, is explained with the phrase, "Progress always has a price" (p. 42). And the chapters on the canneries in each Shore county are little more than lists of successive owners of major canneries.

Perhaps it is unfair to level such criticism against Burton's work. After all, he makes quite modest claims for the book. He has written it more for those who share his interest in cannery collectibles and for local history enthusiasts than for a scholarly audience. Yet books of this nature are not entirely innocuous lapses of the imagination. By reducing history to a catalogue of facts and ignoring the political, social, and economic context that gives meaning to those facts, they contribute to a popular version of the past that is trivial and nostalgic. By presenting an essentially unproblematic view of the past, they do nothing to help us understand something of the sources of the very real problems of the present.

LINDA SHOPES
Smithsonian Institution

From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth-Century Georgia. By Peter Wallenstein. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. xii, 218. Notes, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

This study of state and local government programs and finances in Georgia from 1830 to 1890 is the most important book on southern political history published in this decade and the best study ever of public policy in a southern state. Concise, well written, and often strikingly insightful, it should be speedily issued in paperback and read by every serious student of American political history, as well as assigned in undergraduate and graduate classes.

For Wallenstein, policy was not the outcome of clashing ideologies or the competition of spoilsmen, but of the conscious, rational efforts of social groups—planters, merchants, yeomen, poor whites, and, after the war, freedmen—to use government to benefit their class. Antebellum merchants and planters favored and others opposed subsidies to the Western and Atlantic Railroad not because of opinions on the proper sphere of governmental activity, but because the rich expected to gain markets while poorer people, espe-

cially those outside the region that the road served, saw only the prospect of paying higher taxes. In the late 1850s, the representatives of "yeoman counties" in the legislature endorsed a financing scheme to equalize school funds for all white children, while many from "planter counties" fought it. The absurdly malapportioned legislature of 1850 taxed town lots at five times the rate of slaves and seven times the rate of rural land, and the entirely unrepresented free people of color paid poll taxes twenty times as high as those on whites.

Treating all facets of government—taxation, internal improvements and their regulation, legislative apportionment and the structure of local government, eleemosynary institutions, schools, military pensions—and spanning three eras of political history, Wallenstein demonstrates connections, continuities, and discontinuities that more limited studies have missed or merely asserted or assumed. Expropriation of Indian lands and late antebellum profits from the Western and Atlantic allowed the state before the war to expand services while keeping taxes low. At the level of the state and county governments, secession equalized. Property-tax rates in 1864 were fifteen times those of 1860, and greatly exceeded Reconstruction-era levies, while poll taxes, adjusted for inflation, declined during the war. Benefit payments to poor soldiers' families had to skyrocket to keep down desertion from the army, while the wealthy sank their savings into rebel bonds. It was the Confederate, not the state government that made the war a poor man's fight by impressing large quantities of supplies—three times the aggregate value of state and local taxes—apparently for the most part from less affluent whites.

The brief, turmoil-filled years of Radical Reconstruction in Georgia, over by 1871, initiated few changes in state policy. A large state debt and the policy of encouraging railroad construction by endorsing the bonds of private companies, for instance, preceded Republican governor Rufus Bullock's regime, which also lacked the time and money to expand the state's fledgling educational system. Much more important than radical rule in the state was the fact of emancipation, which removed slaves as a source of tax revenues and nearly doubled the number of claimants on public services; the passing of the state's ability to finance expanded services from such non-tax revenues as federal land sales and profits of the state-owned railroad; and the assumption of obligations to provide some education and considerable welfare payments to ex-soldiers or their widows. Ignored by most scholars before Wallenstein, the pension programs extended beyond the turn of the century and accounted for an astonishing 22 percent of the state's total expenditures by 1911.

Nevertheless, after as before the war less powerful groups suffered from discriminatory state policies. Redeemer governments repealed the limited exemptions that had shielded the property of the poor from taxation, provided much smaller support to black than to white colleges and schools, and eventually substituted the chain gang for "road duty" as a means of keeping byways in repair. In the late 1880s—not during Reconstruction or the "Progressive Era"—state services first markedly expanded, but they grew for whites only.

Wallenstein's implicit challenges to the views of such scholars as Michael Johnson and Mills Thorton may provoke controversy. Whatever the outcome of battles over this or that "Wallenstein thesis," his book illustrates the increasing attention that historians are giving to the study of public policy and provides a model that should inspire emulation.

J. MORGAN KOUSSER
California Institute of Technology

Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement. By Jack M. Bloom. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. Pp. x, 267. Notes, works consulted, index. $35 cloth; $12.50 paper.)

The publisher's announcement for *Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement* identifies Jack M. Bloom as a sociologist at Indiana University's Northwest campus in Gary who

spent several years as a "movement activist" in the 1970s. But the book's title fails to indicate that this is an extended socio-historical essay that attempts to interpret the change in American race relations from the first Reconstruction to the present.

In this ambitious work of synthesis Bloom ranges widely through the secondary literature, bringing to it less his own original research than his interpretation of the interaction between race and class. This important insight is not new, but Bloom applies it with far more subtlety than sociological dogmatism. In a two-part book that looks first at southern history through the 1950s, and then at the nationwide black civil rights movement and the Second Reconstruction, Bloom's race-class analysis allows him to explore the class divisions within southern white society that ultimately led to the displacement of the old agrarian elite. It also (but less effectively) leads him to assess the growing class distinctions within black society that accelerated the breakup of the modern civil rights coalition once the Jim Crow system had been destroyed.

The first half of the book is stronger, probably because Bloom could exploit the fresh challenge of revisionist literature on the South's political economy that has been published in the past decade by such historians as Michael Schwartz, Roger Ransom, and Richard Sutch, Jonathan M. Wiener, Jay R. Mandle, and Dwight B. Billings, Jr. These in turn have built upon C. Vann Woodward's pathbreaking revision of 1951, *Origins of the New South*. Bloom's analysis of the recent period responds theoretically to the sociological studies of black protest by Anthony Oberschall, Francis Piven and Richard Cloward, Doug McAdam, and Alden Morris.

For readers with primarily historical interests, Bloom's book is organized in a roughly chronological fashion. The first part surveys the class-based challenge and failure of populism, then the dissolution of the old agrarian order and the one-party dominance of the southern Democrats, centering on the election of 1948. Part two traces the emergence of southern black protest, the ghetto riots and Black Power, the ironical breakup of the civil rights coalition on the heels of national victory, and the subsequent diffusion of the movement as the politics of both race and class became nationalized.

The author's writing is clear and relatively jargon-free. He largely avoids the reductionism and structural determinism that too frequently mar the pessimistic analyses of radical sociologists. Bloom admits that the Second Reconstruction, unlike the first, was basically a success, given its limited but important goals. The book's broad focus and ambitious scope prevent, however, the kind of narrative story, attention to unique events, and acknowledgements of the leadership of individuals that customarily mark the work of historians.

This serious work of synthesis provides fairly heavy reading, and there is nothing of special interest concerning Maryland. But as a historical attempt to explain the causes of conflicts that continue to touch our lives and memories, it rewards a thoughtful reading.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage. By Pauli Murray. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1987. Pp. xii, 437. Epilogue index., $23.95.)

Poet, lawyer, professor, genealogist, historian, Episcopal priest, and civil rights and feminist organizer, Pauli Murray died doing final touches on this splendid autobiography. A black, or as she preferred, *Negro* daughter of a school principal and a West Baltimore nurse, she attended school from age six to sixty-six: public ones in rural North Carolina and New York City, and Hunter, Howard, Berkeley, Yale, and General Theological Seminary, with degrees in writing, law, and religion. Along the way, North Carolina and Harvard rejected her on grounds of race and sex, respectively. She wrote poems and

picketed and agitated for workers on strike in the 1930s; in the 1940s she ran for New York City Council, "sat in" at segregated businesses in Washington, D.C., and set up a defense fund for an innocent Southern black convicted by an all white jury. In the 1950s and 1960s she wrote books on law and a widely reviewed family history (*Proud Shoes*), taught in Ghana and at Brandeis, lobbied for civil rights laws, served on the Kennedy Commission on the Status of Women, and joined white femininists to found NOW (National Organization of Women). The harsh rejection of women by her beloved Episcopal Church nearly forced her out of it in the 1970s, but she "felt the call' at age sixty-three and was ordained the denomination's first black, female Episcopal priest in 1977. The ministry brought her back to West Baltimore, at Holy Nativity Parish one mile from her birthplace, shortly before her death.

Anecdotes of a Baltimore childhood, memories of relatives and adult life in rural Maryland, weave in and out. Childhood tragedies—at age three her mother's death, and the confinement and murder of her father at Crownsville State Mental Hospital—seared her. Maryland cousins, along with many others in a large, supportive extended family, fed, housed, and encouraged her. The gentle piety of black Episcopalians in the tiny segregated churches of southern Prince George's County (St. Simon's and St. Philip's, Croom and Acquasco) nurtured her as a child, when she lived briefly in the rectory of her uncle-in-law, and as an elder returning to begin her ministry.

Married at age twenty for only a few weeks, she cultivated strong, lasting emotional ties with women: relatives and black and white friends, usually other achievers. A professor prodded her to advanced degrees in law and a friend's death prompted a crisis in faith and commitment to the church. An inveterate notes and clippings collector, she writes carefully from both records and memory, and with detail. She labels herself argumentative and stubborn, but lays bare another side—sensitive, humble, highly respectful of others, and as often frightened as determined. A Depression-era hobo, she hopped freights coast to coast, entirely petrified of dangers. That "God might strike me dead" worried her before ordination.

She discloses the experiences and emotions of a pioneering protestor, an agitator with no "movement" and publicity. Both practical and idealistic considerations—getting close to the home of aunts who reared her, and cracking the segregation barrier—prompted her application to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her rejection in 1938, though "not unexpected" (p. 115) still surprised her as did the unwillingness of the NAACP to take up her case. At Howard University, sheer achievement prodded male law students to accord her honors. Afterwards, a self-taught rule—"one person plus a typewriter constitutes a movement"—fostered a certain satisfaction with protest. Discrimination and a yen for new and meaningful experiences drove her from endeavor to endeavor and even kept her poor. As friends began to retire she gave up academic tenure for the seminary, entirely uncertain that her church would ever ordain her. Rich detail about someone less than a leader but more than a follower in nationwide civil rights and feminist struggles abounds here.

RODERICK N. RYON
Towson State University

Books Received

Local history always has meant a fondness for family albums and familiar places, and in our day publishing technology has made it possible (and profitable) to put together popular picture-histories covering not only large cities but also some counties. Joetta M. Cramm, who has taught local history at Howard Community College and was active in the county bicentennial observance, adds another volume to this growing list with *A Pictorial History of Howard County*. Though Howard did not become a county until 1851, Ms. Cramm supplies background on the great estates that marked the district in the colonial period and the important mills that appeared in the late eighteenth century; more chapters cover people of the nineteenth century, communities, Ellicott City, schools and churches, the early twentieth century, and—under the heading "new ways, new people, new town"—more recent years, notably the advent of Columbia. Ms. Cramm acknowledges debts to Mame Warren of the Maryland State Archives and to the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. G. Edward Walter, then president of the Howard County Historical Society, contributes a foreword to this charming collection.

Donning, $25.00

A University of South Carolina professor of classics, Ward W. Briggs, Jr., has completed editing *The Letters of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*. A founder of classical studies in this country, Gildersleeve first taught at the University of Virginia, served in the Confederate army during the Civil War, and then became one of the original faculty members at Johns Hopkins. Gildersleeve's correspondence supplies an important resource for anyone interested in the development of American intellectual life in nineteenth-century America and offers many a sidelight: "For more than a quarter of a century I have lived in a border city," Gildersleeve wrote in 1903, when Edwin A. Alderman asked him what made the South different, "which may have been Southern once, which cannot be called distinctively Southern now and have worked in an institution manned almost entirely by Northern men or men with Northern sympathies. . . . What will abide in the future of what we Southerners were, I cannot divine" (p. 253).

Johns Hopkins University Press, $49.50

In *Marriage and Deaths from the Newspapers of Allegany and Washington Counties, Maryland, 1820–1830,* F. Edward Wright departs from his usual practice of abstracting legal and personal notices as well as vital statistics; instead he limits himself to marriage and death notices and some abstracts of equity cases. The book covers six newspapers. An index refers not to pages but numbered paragraphs.

Family Line, $8

Two titles, *Index to St. Mary's County, Maryland Wills, 1634–1777,* and *Index to Prince George's County, Maryland, Wills, 1695–1777,* supply new genealogical source materials for Southern Maryland. Both volumes contain alphabetical listings of the testators, liber and folio numbers, and date of probate. Liber numbers refer to the Maryland Provincial Will series (deposited at the Maryland State Archives), not to county will books.

Raymond B. Clark, each $4

Researchers working on the Revolutionary War period in Maryland will find Raymond B. Clark, Jr.'s, *Maryland in the Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications* (2nd printing; St. Michaels: The Author, 1987) helpful in locating pension records for over 2,200 Maryland soldiers or their widows who applied for pensions from the federal government. The compiler secured permission to abstract the names from the *Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications* published over twenty years ago by the National Genealogical Society and has arranged his material alphabetically to show the name of the soldier, his rank, and the pension application number. If the widow applied for a pension her name is given; if a bounty land warrant was issued, in some cases the name of the assignee is also given.

Raymond B. Clark, $8.00

F. Edward Wright has produced two more volumes of newspaper abstracts from widely divergent areas of the state. *Marriages and Deaths in the Newspapers of Frederick and Montgomery Counties, 1820–1830* (Silver Spring: Family Line, 1987), an indexed volume of one-hundred pages, contains vital records from the *Frederick Town Herald,* the *Republican Gazette,* the *Examiner,* the *Republican Citizen,* the *True American,* and *The Maryland Journal.* Each issue of a newspaper is numbered and indexed by serial numbers rather than page numbers. By reducing the size of the page the compiler has been able to lower the price, which is extremely reasonable for a volume of source materials.

Family Line, $6.00.

In *Marriages and Deaths of the Lower Delmarva, 1835–1840* (Silver Spring: Family Line Publications, 1987), F. Edward Wright in about fifty pages has compiled and indexed vital records from eight newspapers in Dorchester, Somerset, and Worcester counties. It lists some 350 marriages and deaths. Like his other newspaper volumes, Mr. Wright's latest work assigns numbers to each issue of the newspaper, and includes all records from that issue in a single block paragraph. The names in the index refer to the serial number, making it easy to find a specific reference in a given issue.

Family Line, $5.00.

S. Eugene Clements and F. Edward Wright, *The Maryland Militia in the Revolutionary War* (Silver Spring: Family Line Publications, 1987) discusses the part played by Maryland's citizen soldiers throughout the war, various engagements, problems of personnel and supply, and raids and dissidents. The bulk of the text, however, is comprised of two apendices: a list of commissioned officers in the miltia (giving name, rank, date of commission, county, battalion, company, reference number, and notes) and a list of muster rolls and other name sources. Unfortunately not all militia lists have survived, so these records are uneven. The lists for Talbot County comprise almost 15 pages, those for Baltimore County barely two. While the work will be of great help to genealogists and other researchers, this reviewer wishes that the compilers had included a bibliography of source materials used in the narrative portion of the text and that the index had been expanded to include all names throughout the text, not just in the muster rolls. Nevertheless, the book is a major contribution to the field of Revolutionary War source material.

Family Line, $19.50 postpaid.

News and Notices

Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

At a dinner held in the Rare Book Room of the Maryland Historical Society on the evening of 22 April, Professor John Higham of Johns Hopkins University, chair of the selection committee, presented the society's first book prize of $1,000 to Allan Kulikoff, Northern Illinois University, for *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986). The award recognizes the most important volume published in the previous two years on Maryland history and culture.

Third Annual *Maryland Historical Magazine* Prize

In 1984, as part of the state's 350th anniversary, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society established an annual award of $350 for the most distinguished article to appear in a given volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. At the 22 April book-prize dinner, Garry Wheeler Stone, late of the St. Mary's City Commission, received the third such award for his "Manorial Maryland," a study of early St. Mary's which appeared in the spring issue.

Mid-Atlantic Visual Arts Residency Program

The Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation is currently accepting applications for the 1988/89 Visual Arts Residency Program. Any non-profit organizations in Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia may apply for grant support to host an individual artist or art critic based within the Mid-Atlantic region but outside the organization's state. Residencies may be two weeks to three months long, and must take place between 1 November 1988 and 31 December 1989. Grant awards will provide $2,000 per month for residency fees, up to $300 for photographic documentation of residency activities, and the cost of one round trip between the resident's home and the host site.

Applications for the Visual Arts Residency Program *must be* submitted by the host organization on behalf of specific residents. Applications and guidelines are available from the Mid-Atlantic office and from member state arts agencies. Completed applications must be received by 15 July 1988. For more information, contact Trudi Y. Ludwig at (301) 539-6656.

Oral History Association Annual Meeting

The 23rd Annual Meeting of the Oral History Association will be held 13–16 October 1988, at the historic Belvedere Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland. The theme of the meeting will be oral history and community history, with a particular emphasis on the history of Afro-Americans and people of color. Keynote speakers will be Bernice Johnson Reagon, Program in Black American Culture, Smithsonian Institution; Sidney Mintz, Anthropology Department, Johns Hopkins University; and John Kuo Wei Tchen, Asian/American Center, Queens College. Meeting sessions will include basic and advanced workshops on techniques for interviewing and transcribing, editing for radio, and producing videos, slide-tape shows, and theater; public history roundtables on engaging and educating popular audiences using oral history; scholarly papers addressing important questions of oral historical analysis. Additionally, a variety of oral history-based media productions will be

shown, and offsite tours will explore the historical communities and museums of Baltimore, and two innovative historical exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution. For further information contact Richard C. Smith, Secretary, Oral History Association, % Oral History Program 136 Powell Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, California 90024.

Summer Events at St. Mary's City

The site of Lord Baltimore's 1634 capital, Historic St. Mary's City is an eight-hundred acre living history museum located in Southern Maryland. Events scheduled for the summer include a Maryland Shakespeare Festival and the archaeological excavation of the Chapel Field site through June and August. A grand militia muster on 18 and 19 July is the premier event of the season, with an encampment of seventeenth-century reenactment groups. And, on 6 and 7 August, films and special tours of on-going excavations highlight the Tidewater Archaeological Weekend. All events scheduled from 10 AM to 5 PM unless otherwise noted. General admission tickets are $4.00 for adults, $2.00 for senior citizens, and $1.50 for children 6–12.

Recruits Sought for Seventeenth-Century Militia

The St. Maries Citty Militia is a volunteer living history unit representing the period of 1630 to 1650 in the colony of Maryland. The militia's first meeting of 1988 will be held on 30 January at 11 AM at the Ordinary (inn) at the museum. Interested recruits are invited to attend. Call (301) 862-0990 for more information on the militia and for directions.

Southern Maryland Studies Center

The La Plata campus of Charles County Community College is home to the Southern Maryland Studies Center, a research center reflecting the history and culture of the Southern Maryland region. Resources include over 2,000 books, 285 rolls of microfilm, and 91 manuscript collections. On 17 March 1988 the college Board of Trustees recognized the contributions of local historians John and Roberta Wearmouth, who have devoted hundreds of volunteer hours to the center's collection development. The Wearmouths were instrumental in obtaining and organizing the Sydney E. Mudd, Sr./Sydney E. Mudd, Jr., Collection of nearly one thousand items, including photographs, letters, newspapers, and congressional memorabilia. The Mudd Collection reflects the political accomplishments of this father and son who represented Southern Maryland in Congress for more than thirty years. As part of the college's oral history program, Mr. Wearmouth has conducted over one hundred interviews covering topics that include the history of La Plata, the county seat, the early years of the Southern Maryland Electric Cooperative, and the lives of Charles County watermen and farmers. A small number of these taped interviews have been processed into the documents collection and are available for use. The oral history program is an effort to capture the history of this atypical Maryland rural community in the midst of major social and economic change. The documents room of the Southern Maryland Studies Center is open from 1:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M., Monday through Friday. The reading room is open from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., Monday through Thursday, and for limited hours on Fridays and Saturdays when the college is in session. Further information about the center can be obtained by calling (301) 934-2251, ext. 610.

On Western Maryland Cemeteries

The Garrett County Historical Society will begin publishing additions and corrections to *Maryland's Garrett County Graves,* published by Youghiogheny Glades Chapter N.S.D.A.R in 1987. The first cemetery in this additional series will be published in the

March issue of *The Glades Star,* the society's quarterly publication. For subscription forms, write Mrs. Randall R. Kahl, Route 4, Box 89, Deer Park, Md. 21550.

THE BALTIMORE HISTORY NETWORK EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY CLEARINGHOUSE

The Baltimore History Network now has a job bank for historians. It is an open file located at the Baltimore Center for Urban Archaeology. Researchers are encouraged to file their curriculum vitae for the occasional review of potential employers. For more information, contact Kristen Stevens Peters at the Baltimore Center for Urban Archaeology-BHN, 802 East Lombard Street, Baltimore, Md. 21202-4511.

SOURCES SOUGHT ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY URBAN LIFE

A museum interpreting a wheelwright's household in 1840 Baltimore is seeking primary documentation to help describe urban life of that period. Desired sources include diaries, journals, letters, business ledgers, etc. from 1835 to 1845. Please contact Dean Krimmel, Baltimore City Life Museums, 225 N. Holliday Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201 (301) 396-1149.

MUSEUM SEEKS INFORMATION ON MAINE ARTIST

The York Institute Museum of Saco, Maine, is currently seeking information on artist Charles Henry Granger (1812–1893) for an exhibition in August 1988. Granger was a self-taught painter, draughtsman, sculptor and printmaker who spent most of his life in Maine. From 1836 to 1844, Granger travelled from Maine to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Hagerstown, Maryland, working as an artist and studying with painters established in those cities.

Individuals with information on works of art by Charles Henry Granger are encouraged to contact Audrey Milne or Kerry O'Brien at the York Institute Museum, 371 Main Street, Saco, Maine 04072 (207-282-3031).

Picture Puzzle

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore street scene. When was this photograph taken? What changes have taken place?

The Spring 1988 Picture Puzzle depicts the construction of the first stage of the Tower Building, which stood at 222 East Baltimore Street between 1905 and early 1987. It was originally built to house the offices of the Maryland Casualty Company after the firm's original offices were destroyed in the 1904 Baltimore fire. In 1912, the addition of a thirteen-story tower gave the building its enduring name. The 1890 Post Office Building (demolished in 1930) is visible in the background of this view. The photograph was taken by the Hughes Company on December 19, 1904.

The following people correctly identified the Winter 1987 Picture Puzzle: Mr. Frederick M. Biggs, Mr. Kenneth E. Fogle, Mr. John George, Mr. Paul P. Gordon, Mr. Carroll H. Hendrickson, Jr., Ms. Bertha J. Kennedy, Albert and Sarah Lewis, Mr. Joseph A. Lubozynski, Mr. Frederick Procter, Frances A. Randall, Mr. Charles E. Read, Mr. Joseph Y. Rowe, Mrs. M. Helen Six, Marriott Davis Streaker, Judy and Dick Sutcliffe, Mr. William G. Willman, and Mr. James T. Wollon, Jr.

Please send your response to the Summer 1988 Picture Puzzle to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

The curators wish to clarify the answer to the Winter 1987 picture puzzle, revealed in the Spring issue: The image showed South Market Street, Frederick, looking north, not south. We thank those readers who noticed the error for pointing it out to us.

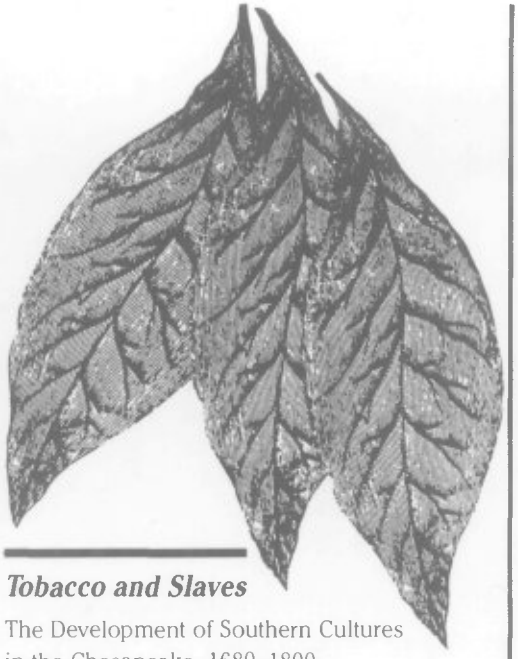
Toward a New Deal in Baltimore

People and Government in the Great Depression

by Jo Ann E. Argersinger

"Argersinger's engaging account will confound those who accept a Reaganite interpretation of the New Deal as the enemy of voluntarism and local initiative. . . . Her sure grasp of the larger literature as well as the rich detail of Baltimore's development in the 1930s has joined local and national history in an exemplary fashion."—Otis L. Graham, Jr., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

303 pp., $29.95 cloth



Tobacco and Slaves

The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800

by Allan Kulikoff

John H. Dunning Prize
Francis Butler Simkins Award
Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

"An insightful analysis of specific tobacco-growing regions (most notably, Prince George's County, Maryland) and a sweeping synthesis of early Chesapeake history focused on the origins of a distinctive southern way of life."—Paul G. E. Clemens, Rutgers

"A sweeping interpretation that will undoubtedly exert a major influence on future studies of the colonial and antebellum South. . . . *Tobacco and Slaves* is sure to become a landmark in the historiography of the American South."—Rachel N. Klein, *Journal of Southern History*

467 pp., $30.00 cloth, $11.95 paper
Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia

The University of North Carolina Press
Post Office Box 2288
Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288

Five copies of a single work may be ordered at a 40% discount (except for hardbound *Silver In Maryland* and *Furniture in Maryland 1740–1940*). All orders are to be prepaid. Postage and handling of $2.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item must accompany the order (except where noted). Maryland residents must include 5% state sales tax. Prices are subject to change without notice. Address all orders directly to the Publications Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201.

ANDERSON, GEORGE MCC. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828–1912,* who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada. 222pp. Illus. 1970. $20.00

ARNOLD, GARY. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers*. 27pp. 1973. 41 reels. $2.00

BOLES, JOHN B. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers*. 30pp. 1972. 27 reels. $2.00

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers*. 23pp. 1971. 34 reels. $2.00

BYRON, GILBERT. *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay*. 94pp. Illus. 1964. $5.00

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *A History of the University of Maryland*. 422pp. Illus. 1966. $9.50

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior*. 64pp. 1986. $4.50

CARROLL, KENNETH. *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*. 328pp. Illus. 1970. $15.00

COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy 1760–1820*. 139pp. Illus. 1981 (paperback) $15.00

COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots*. 136pp. Illus. 1979. $9.50

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers*. 32pp. 1973. 27 reels. $2.00

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mordecai Gist Papers*. 26pp. 1975. 2 reels. $2.00

COX, RICHARD, J. AND SULLIVAN, LARRY E. *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society*. Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral Histoty Interviews. 348pp. 1981. $22.00

DRAKE, JULIA A. AND ORNDORFF, J. R. *From Millwheel to Plowshare* (Orndorff family genealogy). 271pp. 1938. $10.00

DUNCAN, RICHARD R. AND BROWN, D. M. *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*. 41pp. 1970. $5.00

FILBY, P. WILLIAM AND HOWARD, EDWARD G. *Star-Spangled Books*. 175pp. Illus. 1972. $17.50

FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years*. 128pp. 1983. $4.95

GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver In Maryland*. 334pp. 1983. $30.00

GUTMAN, ARTHUR J. *The Mapping of Maryland 1590–1914: An Overview*. 72pp. 1983. $6.00

HAW, JAMES: BEIRNE, FRANCIS F. AND ROSAMOND R., AND JETT, R. SAMUEL. *Stormy Patriot. The Life of Samuel Chase*. 305pp. 1980. $14.95

HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage*. 31pp. Illus. 1984. $3.00

HEYL, EDGAR G. *I Didn't Know That. An Exhibition of First Happenings in Maryland*. 61pp. Illus. 1973. $3.00

HEINTON, LOUISE JOYNER. *Prince George's Heritage*. 223pp. 1972. $12.50

HYDE, BRYDEN B. *Bermuda's Antique Furniture & Silver*. 198pp. Illus. 1971. $15.00

JENKINS, EDWARD FELIX. *Thomas Jenkins of Maryland 1670: His Descendants and Allied Families*. 392 pp. 1985, $20.75

KAESSMANN, BETA: MANAKEE, HAROLD R.; AND WHEELER, JOSEPH L. *My Maryland*. 446pp. Illus. Rev. 1972. $7.00

KENNY, HAMILL. *Placenames In Maryland*. 352pp. 1984. $17.50

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History*. 47pp. 1979. $3.00

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland, A Directory*. 44pp. 1981. $3.00

LEVY, RUTH BEAR. *A Wee Bit O'Scotland. Growing Up In Lonaconing, Maryland, At The Turn of The Century*. 67 pp. 1983. $8.00

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members*. 86pp. 1978. $7.50

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *Without Fear or Favor* (A biography of Roger Brooke Taney). 556pp. 1965. $7.50

MANAKEE, BETA K. AND HAROLD R. *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore, 1814*. 26pp. Illus. 1954. $1.00

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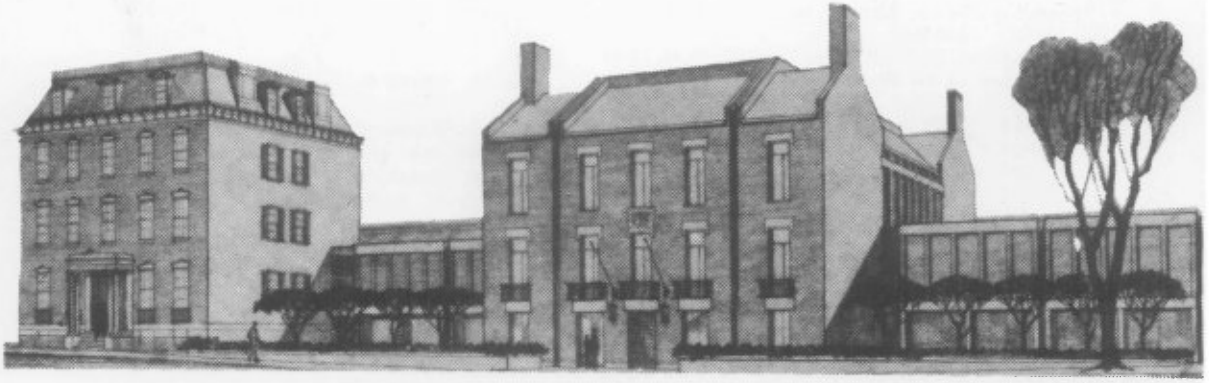

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